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Friday, June 18, 1982

Vol. L, No. 15557 IS14.00

Jerusalem sees bright start to 'lengthy process' to rid Lebanon of PLO arms

Arafat and leftists seen willing to talk

By DAVID BERNSTEIN
Post Middle East Affairs Reporter
and Agencies

There were growing signs of optimism in Beirut yesterday that a political solution to the present crisis may be shaping up, with both the PLO and Lebanese leftist leader Walid Jumblatt showing increasing signs of cooperating in the intense diplomatic efforts currently being conducted by Lebanese President Elias Sarkis and U.S. envoy Philip Habib.

Lebanese state radio and TV reported that PLO chairman Yasser Arafat had offered to discuss with the Lebanese authorities "a new form of Palestinian presence in Lebanon" to avert an Israeli onslaught on his last remaining stronghold in West Beirut.

According to Israel TV's Arab affairs reporter Ehad Ya'ari, reporting from Beirut, Arafat would be willing to lay down his arms if he

were assured that the 300,000 Palestinians currently in Lebanon would be permitted to remain; that the PLO would be permitted to continue using Lebanon as a base for its political activities; and that some arrangement would be made for its future military deployment in Lebanon.

Ya'ari noted that Arafat had been told firmly by former Lebanese prime minister Sa'eb Salam — his chief link with Habib — that "if he wished to commit suicide, he had better do it alone, and not seek to take 250,000 innocent Lebanese with him."

PLO officials, meanwhile, continued to deny that discussions about the PLO reducing its armed presence in Lebanon were under way and the organization's news agency Wafa described reports suggesting this as "part of the pay-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

Haig to tell Begin: be generous in victory

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Secretary of State Alexander Haig is expected to tell Prime Minister Menachem Begin today exactly what he recently told Britain: try to be magnanimous in military victory.

Haig and other senior U.S. officials are hoping Israel will demonstrate increased flexibility in the U.S.-led negotiations designed to try to resolve the crisis in Lebanon.

The Americans confirmed that special Middle East envoy Philip Habib is in indirect contact with the PLO leadership in Beirut, presumably through former prime minister Sa'eb Salam.

The State Department has repeatedly maintained that Habib and other U.S. officials are refusing any direct contact with the PLO — as part of the long-standing U.S. policy of refusing to recognize the PLO until it accepts Israel's right to exist.

Haig is expected to bring Begin up to date on the Habib discussions in Beirut these past few days. U.S. officials are forcefully opposing any Israeli move into the Lebanese capital.

Israeli officials have assured Haig and other U.S. policymakers they have no intention of moving into Beirut — but the Americans remain concerned.

Begin is scheduled to meet President Ronald Reagan at the White House on Monday morning. U.S. officials attach considerable importance to today's preliminary session between Begin and Haig in setting the stage for that meeting.

The U.S. is working to try to achieve a speedy Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon — as well as a pull-out of other foreign forces, in-

(Continued on Page 17)

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent
Israeli policy-makers have been heartened by what they see as the promising start of a political process in Lebanon that could lead to the removal of all foreign forces — including the PLO — and the establishment of a stable and independent government in Beirut. But they caution that the process will be long and difficult.

Neither the Syrians, they explain, nor the PLO, will agree to go easily. One well-placed source here spoke of a "Falklands Syndrome" affecting the PLO leadership and, to some extent, the Syrians. They would not accede quickly or readily to demands for their withdrawal.

And Israel, for its part, will not relinquish its own hard-fought positions in Lebanon until it is confident that satisfactory arrangements have been made to prevent the return of the PLO as a military threat.

In the border area itself, Israel is still seeking the establishment — through U.S. diplomatic initiative — of a multinational force. Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, returning from Paris yesterday, said that he had urged President Mitterand to have France participate in this projected force.

"I had the impression," Shamir told newsmen, "that if France is asked by the government of Lebanon to join a multinational force it will seriously consider participating in (this) political solution for Lebanon and for the area in general."

Yesterday the U.S. special envoy, Philip Habib, asked Israel for a 48-hour total cessation of hostilities during which time he would try to present his ideas for a staggered removal-of-foreign-forces package to the various factions in Beirut and to the Syrians. Habib reportedly had been negotiating indirectly with the beleaguered PLO leadership in Beirut, through Lebanese Moslem intermediaries.

Israeli sources noted after a special cabinet meeting last night that Israel had previously announced a cease-fire, and the IDF had not in fact engaged in heavy fighting in Beirut. (The sources insisted that heavy exchanges with the

PLO during Wednesday were the work of the Phalange militia.) Israel's position remained that it would not shoot at all unless it was shot at, the sources said.

Apparently, Habib's appeal to Israel was intended to reduce the fighting between the PLO and the Phalangists. He was in effect urging that Israel exercise a restraining influence over its Phalange allies in order to give the delicate political process a better chance of being launched successfully.

Israeli policy-makers say they are particularly encouraged by the fact that key Lebanese politicians, "and not just Bashir Jemmayel," appear to have reached the conclusion that the Israeli invasion (whatever their feelings about it) has created a unique opportunity for political reconstruction in their war-ravaged land.

The establishment of an emergency council under President Elias Sarkis, and the participation in it — after some initial reluctance — of the leftist Druse leader Walid Jumblatt, is seen in Jerusalem as a special cause for "cautious optimism."

The ideas presently under discussion — they have been welcomed in Jerusalem — call for a withdrawal in stages by the Syrian and Israeli armies and a voluntary disarmament by the PLO in Beirut. There are an ex-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Peres crosses border to meet Jumblatt

Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres yesterday met Lebanon National Movement leader Walid Jumblatt at his village of Mukhtara. The Druse socialist party leader heads the leftist coalition, including the PLO, in the Lebanese conflict.

Peres' meeting was approved in advance by military authorities.

The meeting came following a request from the Socialist International, which asked for a report on Jumblatt's situation. His party, like the Israel Labour Party, belongs to the Socialist International, and Peres has met Jumblatt at international gatherings.

IDF releases casualty list

214 killed in campaign

Jerusalem Post Staff

IDF casualties in Operation Peace for Galilee totalled 214 dead, 3 missing in action and one pilot taken prisoner by the PLO. There were 1,114 wounded, of whom 76 were severely wounded, 237 suffered medium injuries and 809 were lightly injured. Eight of those seriously wounded died in the hospital and are included both in the figures for dead and wounded.

The casualty list was given at a press conference at Beit Sokolov in Tel Aviv yesterday by Aluf Moshe Harel, chief of the Manpower Branch in the General Staff.

He emphasized that the funerals currently being announced are for soldiers who fell during the campaign and are not additional casualties. Some of the bodies have been positively identified, he said. Other funerals were postponed at the request of the families.

Nativ stated that, despite the heavy fighting that took place both Wednesday and yesterday, there were no IDF casualties either day.

Nativ revealed that 68 of the dead and missing were officers and 170

NCOs and privates. Eighty-three were reservists, 118 were doing their regular service and 37 were serving in the permanent forces. The sole IDF captive, of whom the IDF is aware, is reserve pilot Aharon Ahiv.

Among the wounded, 194 are officers and 920 from other ranks. Wounded reservists number 577, 444 are regular soldiers and 93 are in the permanent forces.

The highest ranking officer to fall was Aluf (Major-General) Yekutiel Adam. One aluf-mishne (colonel), two sganei alufim (lieutenant-colonels), six raveli seranim (majors), 16 seranim (captains), 28 seganim (lieutenants), and 14 seganei-mishne (second lieutenants), were also killed in the campaign.

All the families have been notified.

Effective yesterday, the IDF ceased publishing its casualty lists as it has done throughout the operation and has reverted to its normal routine, i.e. by special announcement of the army spokesman.

(Continued on back page)

IDF says PLO opened fire on forces east of Beirut

Jerusalem Post Staff

Terrorists yesterday morning fired a large number of Katyusha barrages at the IDF in the Halde Airport sector in Beirut and at IDF forces east of the city, the IDF spokesman said in Jerusalem. Three passenger airplanes on the runway were damaged. IDF forces returned fire, the spokesman said.

The spokesman emphasized that, contrary to reports carried by foreign sources, IDF forces are not fighting and are not involved in exchanges of fire inside Beirut.

State-run Beirut radio claimed last night that Israeli forces continued to shell the PLO enclave south of Beirut yesterday. The PLO claimed it had repelled an Israeli thrust east of the capital, near Aley on the main Damascus highway. Beirut Radio said that artillery battles broke out before dawn with

the Israelis, from positions in the hills to the south, shelling the camp of Bourj al-Barajneh, a shanty-town once teeming with Palestinians and poor Shi'ite Moslems.

"The Palestinians and their Lebanese leftist allies returned the fire, it added.

Security sources said that Israeli gunboats later joined in the bombardment of the southern suburbs, site of three Palestinian camps and a hub of Palestinian and leftist political activity.

The fighting around the Bourj al-Barajneh camp spilled over onto the outskirts of the nearby Beirut International Airport, and two Middle East airlines planes were damaged by shells that hit the runway, these sources added.

The fighting raged through the night and erupted again at mid-

(Continued on Page 17)

MDA convoy starts giving medical care in Tyre, Sidon

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
and ISRAEL AMRANI
Jerusalem Post Reporters

The 60 doctors, paramedics and other volunteers on the Magen David Adom convoy to South Lebanon began giving medical care in Tyre and Sidon yesterday morning.

Health Minister Eliezer Shostak yesterday cabled the International Red Cross in Geneva, requesting that the MDA participate in all relief activity in Lebanon.

Although recognizing the Red Crescent and the Red Lion emblems as affiliates, the IRC has never recognized the Star of David emblem as an affiliate. The appeal of the IRC is only a formality, an FDA official told *The Jerusalem Post* because the IRC and the MDA

have worked closely for a number of years.

The MDA teams which brought 20 ambulances, a mobile blood bank, medical supplies and equipment to Lebanon will treat patients in improvised clinics, or transfer those seriously ill to Israel hospitals.

Health Ministry Director-General Baruch Modan, who headed the convoy, suggested to private hospitals in Tyre and Sidon that they treat patients who cannot afford to pay free of charge in exchange for medical supplies from the convoy.

The ministry yesterday transferred six more dialysis machines to the Nahariya Hospital in order to treat Lebanese kidney patients.

(Continued on page 3, col. 3)

19% hike in basic food

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

Basic commodities went up at midnight by 19 per cent, and fuels other than petrol by 12-19 per cent. The hike in food prices is the largest since subsidized goods since Finance Minister Yoram Aridor assumed his post in early 1981.

The hikes were decided on by the Treasury in consultation with other ministries. The Treasury decided to raise the price of telephone services, as these are of vital importance to soldiers and their families. It also lowered the purchase tax on imported clothes by 10-20 per cent which should lower the price of clothes by about 10 per cent.

The Treasury's justification for

price hikes is that they are needed to offset the massive injection of money into the economy, which will result from the government's war expenditures. The hikes are expected to save the Treasury some \$2 billion per annum.

The Treasury expects the hikes to raise the Consumer Price Index by 1.4 per cent during June and July. An additional 1 per cent rise will result from the 3 per cent increment to Value Added Tax, and the rise in petrol prices which the Treasury decided on on Sunday. Traditionally, the summer inflation rates are low.

Despite the relatively steep hikes in prices, some products continue to

(Continued on page 3, col. 3)

Beirut seems normal, but seething below Phalangists still wary of close ties with IDF

By HIRSH GOODMAN
Post Defence Correspondent

BEIRUT. — It was hard to believe that we were in the middle of a war. The lunch being served us, on the patio of the Emile restaurant in the Ain Sa'ade quarter of Beirut, was perfect. Within easy view, puffs of white smoke exploded in the PLO-held area of Bourj al-Barajneh. Someone — either the IDF or the Phalangists — were retaliating for a terrorist Katyusha bombardment on Halde.

A few kilometres from where we were sitting one person had been killed and two others wounded when they inadvertently strayed

into the Moslem sector of this divided city, quartered and sub-quartered into areas of control.

The lines are invisible but yet subtly clear. The Phalangists are smart in American uniforms with American weapons, all reportedly supplied by Israel. Where Israelis have "Zahal" (IDF) patches on their uniforms, they have "Phalange" embroidered. Otherwise it is hard to tell the average Israeli soldier from the Phalangists.

From a few brief and snatched conversations with Phalange officers we met at the French school

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Begin briefs U.S. Jews on Lebanon

By LEON HADAR
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

NEW YORK. — Prime Minister Menachem Begin, in his first public appearance since arriving in the U.S. on Wednesday, told the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations yesterday that Israel will not withdraw from the area it has conquered in Lebanon unless its demands for security arrangements in the area are fulfilled.

He warned the international community not to press Israel on the issue.

"Pressure will not help," he said. "If anybody will try to put pressure on us, we will act as the Czechs should have acted in 1938." He vowed that the status quo ante in Lebanon will never be restored and

told the Jewish audience that "children in Galilee will go to school and enjoy peace in the same way as children in Chicago do."

Begin is due to address the UN special session on disarmament today is expected to call for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East, and to assert that the Egyptian-Israeli peace process can serve as a model for efforts to achieve peace in other parts of the world.

Begin's advisers said that his address will bear a "universal message" and will not concentrate on the situation in the Middle East. However, the prime minister might refer to the war in Lebanon, and will claim that results of the war opened new avenues for peace in the area, the advisers said.

Argentine general ousted

BUENOS AIRES. — President Leopoldo Galtieri has been replaced as Argentine Army commander-in-chief by the commander of the Buenos Aires-based First Army Corps, the official news agency Telam reported last night. He will also resign the presidency, the privately owned Dyn news agency reported yesterday.

Telam said that Gen. Cristino Nicolaides would take over as army commander today and that Gen. Galtieri is going into retirement. It did not immediately explain what this involved.

Government sources said there was dissension among the nation's active generals as to how Argentina should confront defeat at the hands of Britain in the Falkland Islands.

The sources, who asked not to be identified, said Galtieri favoured maintaining a state of hostilities with Britain in the struggle to gain sovereignty over the islands.

Argentine forces surrendered to British forces in Port Stanley, the islands' capital, on Monday, 74 days after Argentine troops invaded and occupied the archipelago. (Reuter, AP)

(Related story — page 4)

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CHICAGO	9	48	25
COPENHAGEN	8	48	16
FRANKFURT	9	48	16
GENEVA	11	32	28
HELSINKI	6	26	30
HONG KONG	27	31	88
JORDANESBURG	1	34	17
LISBON	18	31	34
LONDON	12	34	17
MADRID	14	32	28
MONTREAL	11	32	28
NEW YORK	22	28	84
OSLO	7	48	16
PARIS	17	32	31
RIO DE JANEIRO	17	32	31
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STUTTGART	5	41	16
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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy to fair
Outlook for Saturday: Similar

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	41	15-24	34
Golan	37	14-26	25
Nahariya	62	19-27	26
Safed	47	13-24	26
Haifa Port	60	20-28	27
Tiberias	36	19-32	30
Nazareth	43	16-26	25
Aida	48	18-28	28
Sharmat	46	17-26	26
Tel Aviv	54	22-28	27
B-G Airport	51	19-27	27
Jericho	33	20-34	32
Gaza	61	22-36	28
Beer Sheva	39	18-28	28
Blat	12	24-36	36

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

The Philippines Independence Day was observed at a reception this week at Ambassador Ernesto Gihaya's residence. Among the guests were Knesset Speaker Menahem Savidor, Minister without portfolio Yitzhak Moda'i, Tourism Minister Avraham Shari, government officials, members of the diplomatic corps and friends of the embassy.

Post in campaign to aid soldiers

The Jerusalem Post, in common with many institutions, organizations and individuals, has decided to contribute to the efforts of the Israel Soldier's Welfare Association to ease somewhat the life of the many thousands of soldiers on active duty. The amount of \$100,000, which comes in part from an emergency fund linked to The Post's Forsake Me Not and Toy Funds, will be handed over on Sunday to the association's Jerusalem branch. At the same time, The Post is in the process of joining a public committee in Jerusalem which is being set up under the auspices of the Jerusalem Municipality for the purpose of extending aid to the civilian population in South Lebanon. Further details about this effort will be announced next week.

Former Gestapo officer arrested in Canada

Jerusalem Post Reporter
The Canadian police last night arrested a former senior Gestapo officer who was involved in the deportation of thousands of Jews to their deaths.

Helmut Rauca, the Gestapo chief of Kovno, Lithuania in 1941-43, was arrested in Toronto, Ontario, and the Canadian authorities indicated they intended to extradite him to West Germany to stand trial.

Rauca's arrest followed a visit to Israel 10 days ago by a Canadian justice ministry official who met survivors of the Kovno deportations who identified him.

Rauca was in charge of the selection process in Kovno.

5 men held in homosexual blackmail case

TEL AVIV (Idm). — Five persons, including two diamond dealers, were arrested yesterday on suspicion of abducting a 17-year-old youth. The youth was allegedly involved in a homosexual relationship with one of the dealers.

A 30-year-old Netanya man, who owns a diamond polishing workshop, apparently conducted a homosexual relationship with the youth, who moved in with him. The diamond merchant lavished expensive gifts on the youth. The close

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whom we are trying to locate, born Budapest 1926, Father: Jeno Heifeld, Mother: Olga Polakovsky, called in London to Israel, got married, since then to Israel. Send any information to Yehonita Hirsenshtein, 8011 West Oakland Park Blvd., Lauderdale Lakes, Florida 33313.

HOME NEWS

Christians, Druse, Moslems declare fealty to Haddad

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter
NABATIYA. — More than 100 heads of Lebanese local and regional councils and religious leaders gathered yesterday in the village of Bajad Bijamis in Southern Lebanon to express their support for major Sa'ad Haddad and to discuss the future of Lebanon.



Abu-Emil

A member of the Tyre municipal council and Bishop George Haddad of Tyre said that they had gathered to welcome Haddad as the *ra'is* (leader) of Southern Lebanon. A senior IDF officer said the meeting was convened in response to an Israeli invitation, and that the fact that Christians, Shia Moslems, Druse and Maronites were prepared to meet was of great importance to the future of Lebanon.

Commanders of the Shia militia Amal declared yesterday that they are willing to join any army — Lebanese, Haddad or the IDF — that would rid Lebanon of the PLO.

Tannous Rizak (Abu Emil), a senior officer in Haddad's forces, was buried yesterday in the village of Rumaish in Southern Lebanon, after his mutilated body was found in a PLO stronghold in Tyre. Abu Emil, who fought with the IDF during the first few days of the invasion, is believed to have been captured in a PLO ambush, together with his driver, who has not yet been found.

World starts giving aid to war victims in Lebanon

The wheels of world aid for Lebanese war victims have begun moving.

The European Economic Community Commission announced yesterday it is giving a further \$500,000 to the civilian population of Lebanon. The funds are going to the International Committee of the Red Cross to pay for medical and other supplies.

Last week the EEC announced an initial \$200,000 aid payment.

The Canadian government has freed \$1 million for immediate relief assistance to the civilian population of Lebanon. External Affairs Minister Mark MacGuigan said yesterday.

The funds will be channelled through the Canadian International Development Agency.

Japan plans to extend \$1 million in emergency aid to Palestinian refugees displaced by the Lebanese fighting, the Kyodo news service said yesterday.

Kyodo quoted a senior Foreign Ministry official as saying the money will be dispersed through the International Red Cross.

A chartered Swiss plane left Cyprus yesterday with more food and medicine for the worst-hit areas of Lebanon, but a ship with relief supplies was delayed because of what Red Cross officials called night of passage problems.

They said negotiations were in progress to obtain passage for the vessel between Limassol and Sidon.

In Washington, officials said Wednesday that proposed U.S. humanitarian aid is being delayed by continued fighting and the lack of immediate access to air and sea transport facilities.

President Ronald Reagan announced last week that \$5 million in emergency aid was being made available and that Congress would be asked to provide an additional \$20m. (UPI, AP, Reuter)

Trials only for actual terrorists, Israel hints

Jerusalem Post Staff

Interrogators are questioning about 4,000 Palestinian suspects captured during Israel's thrust into Lebanon, and some may be brought to trial, military sources said yesterday.

The sources said there was no question of putting several thousand suspects on trial. "But if anyone is found to have taken part in any specific terrorist actions like the Munich massacre or attacks on Israeli settlements, then we will bring them to justice," one source stated.

Meanwhile, several hundred

persons who were captured or turned themselves in during the last few days are being brought by bus to Israel for interrogation. The detainees include some from "independent" and "Syrian" units.

Others are Lebanese arrested for lack of "proper documents," and some 1,000 of these are reported to have been released once their identities were established. In one instance after a Lebanese woman freed her husband and son by bringing their documents, an IDF officer apologized to them for the inconvenience, and the men kissed his hand.

Ghali: No Egyptian troops to Lebanon

CAIRO (AP). — Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butros Ghali was quoted yesterday as ruling out the possibility of sending Egyptian volunteers to fight alongside Palestinian terrorists in Lebanon and rejecting demands for a break in relations with Israel.

Both demands were called for by Egyptian opposition parties in retaliation for the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

"Sending volunteers under the present circumstances would not help bolster the defence capabilities of the Palestinians in their fight against Israeli invaders and may

provide a pretext for violating the cease-fire," Ghali said.

He pointed out that Egypt has been calling on foreign powers to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Lebanon.

"What is required now is ending the Israeli aggression and withdrawing Israeli troops from Lebanese territories," Ghali said in an interview with the *Al-Ahram* newspaper. Ghali described the call for breaking off relations with Israel as "a negative stance."

"In fact," Ghali said, "I need the presence of our ambassador in Israel in time of crisis much more than any other time."

Bridegroom's at war, so bride joins him

Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — IDF officer Seren Alex was married yesterday in the Christian village of Dir al-Kamar in southern Lebanon, in an old Jewish synagogue that has not been used for 10 years.

Alex and Gila were to have been

married last week. But when Alex saw he was not going to be home for some time, he telephoned Gila and asked her to come north to be married. She agreed, and the wedding was held in the presence of village dignitaries bearing garlands of flowers.

Israeli cardiologists go to Moscow meeting

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A delegation of the Israel Cardiological Society has left for Moscow to attend a congress of the International Cardiological Association, despite initial fears that the Soviets would not permit Israelis to attend.

The Israeli delegation, all of whom received entry visas, is headed by Prof. Ya'acov Agmon of Beilinson Hospital and Prof. Henry Neufeld, head of the Heart Institute at the Sheba Medical Centre in Tel Hashomer, who is president of the International Cardiological Society.



An Israel soldier fondles a kitten that had gone astray during the fighting in Lebanon. (IDF)

PHALANGISTS WARY

(Continued from Page One)

near the Mansouria quarter, we understand that relations between the IDF and the Phalangists are correct.

The initial Christian euphoria has dissipated into a coolness, born out of a Christian fear of the price they would have to pay for their cooperation, when Israeli withdrawals. The Phalangists made no move to link up with the advancing Israeli columns, but greeted the Israelis warmly once the IDF reached its goal.

They have made no real move to use their own army of 30,000 to finish off the PLO, garrisoned in downtown Beirut refugee camps. Phalangist soldiers wave and sometimes salute and somehow one feels safe in the Christian zones.

There is amazingly little war damage evident in the Christian quarters. The picture is one of opulent villas, smart shops and well-tended lawns. Our restaurant was well patronized, and offered the best in imported liquor and fare.

Clad as we were in uniform and armed, it seemed to make not the slightest difference to the waiters. We paid our bill in shekels (four to the Lebanese pound), exchanged pleasantries with the clients, promising to call each other in the future, and left.

The IDF has been deployed so as

to both cut off the last remnants of the PLO and isolate the battalion or so of Syrian troops still in the city. Though no Israeli attempt has been made to conquer the city, the IDF's dominance is total. It is a deployment which has given the IDF control of Beirut, without having to sacrifice any more lives in actually taking the city.

The military commanders we spoke to believe it is just a matter of time before the PLO surrenders. Though well-armed and fairly numerous, they are demoralized, isolated and no match for the IDF.

Beirut is similar to Haifa. The mountains are higher and it has not suffered from the same pollution as the Israeli port city. We drove through the streets freely, making sure we only followed IDF signs marking semi-safe avenues. One navigates from steep to steep when in doubt, or by carefully peeking around corners for signs of either the IDF or the Phalange.

We witnessed no real signs of destruction in Beirut and the parts of the city we saw did not at all coincide with the images we had conjured up from hearing about eight years of civil war. True, the Palestinian-controlled sections and the refugee camps have taken the brunt of the destruction, but we expected at least some indication of conflict.

The first real tangible signs that a

war had just occurred was when we reached Hade, just south of the Beirut airport. The area had been rocketed by PLO Katyushas in the morning and still bore the three-day-old scars of a vicious battle. The junction had been essential if the IDF was to control the southern exit from the city and control the airfield as well. It was just as important to the Syrians and the PLO that the IDF be prevented from gaining this control.

The villages along the approach from the south-east are fairly heavily scarred. Damour has been obliterated and Syrian tanks mark the road through Matza, Bchemoun, Chemlan and Ainab like milestones. Roads have been churned up by the advancing armor and some of the houses close to the narrow roads through which the tanks had to pass were damaged. We were greeted with some smiles, but mainly faces of either indifference or contempt.

The Israeli presence in Beirut seems to have made little difference in the day-to-day life of the city, but all the difference militarily and politically.

But everyone we spoke to yesterday recognized that the battle is not over, and that all sides are in deadlock. Israel cannot move because of American and international pressures; the Christians are not committing themselves due to the uncertainty over Israel's commitment to an independent Lebanon, now that the PLO problem has more or less been solved. The PLO has decided to surrender to the IDF, but it is not clear if the IDF will accept it. The Lebanese government is walking a tightrope between the Syrians, the PLO, the IDF, the Phalangists and the dozen or so other armed political factions in the country; and the Syrians are just too weak militarily and politically to move.

The position is one of stalemate, the explosive nature of which belies the seeming normalcy of the Beirut we visited yesterday.

BRIGHT START

(Continued from Page One)

leadership of the estimated 300,000 Palestinians living in Lebanon — but would no longer pose a military threat, either to Lebanon or to Israel. An effective multinational force in the border area would serve as a constant disincentive to the Palestinians to take up arms again in Lebanon against Israel.

As Israeli policymakers see it, the continued threatening presence of the IDF on the outskirts of Beirut will help persuade the beleaguered PLO inside the city to cooperate with the proposed comprehensive political solution.

These policymakers do not believe that the PLO, when and if disarmed in Beirut, will step up its international terrorist activities once again (air-plane hijacks etc.) as a way of staying in the focus of world attention. "They would lose more than they would gain by that," one minister asserted.

Tourists picking fruit
A group of American Jewish tourists has decided to forgo a day of sight-seeing to help pick in on the home front. Sixteen adults and 20 teenagers from the Jewish Federation of Milwaukee will pick fruit today on Moshav Segula in the Lachish region.

To Vivian and Julian Landau and family
We are deeply grieved at the loss of

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fallen in battle.

Chana and Aharon Greenberg
Blu and Yitz Greenberg

The unveiling of the tombstone of our beloved
SYLVIA BENSON יור

Netanya — formerly Dublin

will take place on Sunday, June 20, 1982 at 4 p.m. at the new cemetery, Shikun Vatikim, Netanya.
We will meet at the entrance at 3.45 p.m.

Daughter: Leonora Bernstein
and Family Netanya

Commemorating the second anniversary of the death of
ARNIE KNOLL יור

we will go up to the grave at Har Hamenuhot on Monday, June 21, 1982, (Sivan 30, 5742) at 5 p.m.

Mincha and a memorial shiur will follow at Shimon Hatzadik Synagogue, San Simon, at 8.15 p.m.

Ruth Knoll and the Children

The Management of the Foundation Thierry Siem
and all Children and Staff of the
Residential Treatment Centre Ashdod Beersheba
are saddened by the passing of

YEHUDA SHAVIV

first president of the Foundation.

He was a man who cared and who was instrumental in enabling the Foundation to build our Home.
We share the grief of his family.

Peretz Urieli
President

Jacob Marshak
Chairman

To Tamar Yehuda and Family
Sincere condolences on the death in action of

NOAM יור

Staff of the Youth and Hechulutz Dept.
World Zionist Organization

With deep sorrow, we announce the loss of our dear

DOV (Blabla) LEIZEROVITCH

who fell in battle in Lebanon.

The funeral will take place today at 11 a.m. at Kiryat Shaul Military Cemetery.

Esther, Shimon, Irit
and Erez Leizerovitch
Lydia and Dr. Theodor Coman

On the first anniversary of the passing of

FAIGEL BRAUDE יור

there will be a memorial service on Sunday, June 20, 1982 at 5 p.m. at Herzliya Cemetery.

The Family

Two comrades in arms buried on same day

Jerusalem Post Staff

Two comrades in arms who died in the same battle were buried in the same cemetery yesterday. Segen Eyal Leshem, 21, and Turai Yishai Pathi, 19, both of the engineers corps, were killed when their half-track came under missile fire from a Syrian helicopter while their unit was clearing the way for tanks on the Beirut-Damascus road.

They were buried in the Kiryat Shaul cemetery. Eyal joined the engineers corps after graduating from the Alliance school in Ramat Aviv. Yishai, a medical corpsman, had been serving in the army for eight months.

Also buried yesterday in the Kiryat Shaul cemetery was Samal-Rishon Richard Doffman, 25, who was killed on Tuesday, the day on which his twin brother, Michael, was married. Born in Birmingham, England, Richard immigrated to this country seven years ago. He is survived by his wife, their 2½-year-old daughter, his parents and two brothers.

Turai Gregor Barry, 21, was buried yesterday in Kibbutz Gazit in Lower Galilee. Born in California, he joined the kibbutz two-and-a-half years ago as a member of a settlement group. He was killed by terrorists while trying to discover what had happened to his officer who had not come out of a building.

Hundreds of rabbis and yeshiva students followed the coffin yesterday of Rav-Turai Yair Shmuel Landau, 23, who was buried in

the military cemetery on Mt. Herzl in Jerusalem. A member of the armoured corps, he fell during a battle with the Syrians and terrorists near Lake Karoun in the Lebanese Bek'a. Among the mourners were Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek.

A large crowd of rabbis, yeshiva students and employees of the United Mizrahi Bank attended the funeral yesterday of Rav-Turai Avraham Haim Molsan, 23, in the Kiryat Shaul cemetery. He had entered the armoured corps after joining the hesder yeshiva in Sha'albim. Born in Tel Aviv, Avraham had studied in the Ohel Ya'acov school and Kol Torah yeshiva in Jerusalem.

Rav-Turai Gadi Shehbar, 24, was buried yesterday in Dimona. After emigrating with his parents from Argentina, the family settled in Dimona where he was educated. After graduating from secondary school, he joined a settlement group that joined Kibbutz Ortal. Two months ago, Gadi and his wife, also from Dimona, returned to Dimona before he began his university studies.

The following fallen soldiers were also buried yesterday: Segen Uriah Bar-Shalom, 20, in Holon; Rav-Turai David Zilcha, 20, in Kiryat Shaul; Shlomo Beckmeier, 35, of Herzliya, in Kiryat Shaul.

Turai Raphael Haddad, 22, in Pardes Hanna-Karkur; David Kakan, in Kiryat Shmuna, Samal-Rishon Gideon Gamliel, 27, in Kiryat Shaul; Samal Yigael Dahan, 21, in Kiryat Shaul.



Norwegian pro-PLO volunteer Marianne Heli Moller talks with an IDF soldier in Sidon yesterday about her work in a PLO hospital there and the alleged arrest of other staff members, including her husband. (IPPA)

IDF denies holding Norwegians, Canadian

By BENNY MORRIS

Post Diplomatic Reporter

The Norwegian and Canadian ambassadors to Israel yesterday remained concerned about the whereabouts of a number of their nationals, reportedly detained by Israeli security forces in Sidon on Sunday.

The Foreign Ministry said it is still making inquiries regarding the alleged arrests, but could neither confirm nor deny that they had taken place.

An IDF spokesman, according to Canadian Ambassador Joseph Stan-

ford, said that "there are no Canadian prisoners in IDF hands at the present time." But Stanford and Norwegian Ambassador Knut Aars are pressing their inquiries.

The IDF spokesman said the IDF "knows nothing about the reports."

Last Tuesday a Norwegian volunteer working at the Palestinian Red Crescent Society Hospital in Sidon told The Jerusalem Post that on the previous Sunday the security forces had arrested Canadian doctor Christopher Giannou, and two Norwegians, a child psychologist named Dyvind Moller and a doctor named Steinar Berge.



IDF soldiers load a giant semi-trailer with arms found in a PLO cache in Sidon. (Hadani - IPPA)

19% HIKE

(Continued from page one)

be heavily subsidized by the Treasury. The subsidy on bread, for example, was dropped from 150 per cent to 110 per cent. This means the government still adds IS.10 for every shekel the consumer spends on bread.

The Treasury's step is likely to exacerbate the already high tension between Aridor and Histadrut Secretary-General Yeroham Meshel.

Aridor, who disapproves of the new wage agreement recently signed by the private employers and the labour federation, has warned he will take measures to prevent what he sees as the negative consequences of this agreement.

In anticipation of expected protests by Meshel to the price hikes, a Treasury spokesman said he hopes the Histadrut will not react to today's hikes by making irresponsible wage demands. The cuts in subsidies, he emphasized, were necessary in order to prevent a large increase in government expenditures. The spokesman added that lower income groups will be compensated for the price hikes.

Meshel said yesterday that the hike in basic commodities was arbitrary. Aridor, he said, is over-sensitive to the stock market, a sensitivity he loses when it comes to workers. Aridor is wrong, he went on, to expect the public to ignore the hikes because of the war tension.

Meshel added that the latest hikes prove that the policy of controlled price increases has been dropped. He also criticized Aridor for not consulting the Histadrut before reaching his decision.

The following are representative examples of the price hikes (old prices in brackets).

FUEL	IS
Diesel (solar) litre -	11 (9.40)
Kerosene litre	12.30 (10.50)
Cooking gas (12kg.)	197.10 (165.60)
FOOD	
Litre milk	6.65 (5.60)
Loaf of white bread	4 (3.34)
Litre cooking oil	20.60 (17.25)
Tub of margarine	
250 gr.	6 (5.03)
No. 2 chicken (per kg.)	46.40 (37.50)
No. 3 egg	1.80 (1.51)
Shoulder roast	110 (92.40)

MDA CONVOY

(Continued from page one)

Nurses specializing in dialysis treatment were sent to Nahariya from Tel Hashomer and Wolfson Hospitals, a ministry spokeswoman said. The ministry has arranged with the IDF to bring Lebanese dialysis cases to Nahariya at night, on treatment days, and return them to their homes the next morning, she said.

Eleven dialysis patients have already been admitted to Nahariya Hospital, and three others to other hospitals.

Meanwhile, tons of blankets and clothes have been piling up at the MDA's 46 stations throughout the country. Often entire families arrive at their local MDA station, each member carrying parcels of clothes for adults and children, woolen hats and blankets in excellent condition, an MDA spokesman told The Jerusalem Post yesterday.

Some of the parcels had drawings made by Israeli children for Lebanese children, and even sweets, hidden in children's shoes.

MDA has moved all the children's clothes to Peace Ship owner Abie Nathan, who is making a similar collection. The central MDA store house in Kiron, where all the items for Lebanon are concentrated, is overflowing with clothes and blankets as young volunteers select and pack the items.

The collection is due to end to-

day, with the clothes and blankets to be delivered to Lebanon next week.

More than 1,000 Israeli families — both Jewish and Arab — have volunteered to "adopt" Lebanese mothers and their infants temporarily as part of the "Home for Lebanese Children" campaign organized by Na'amot, the Israeli police force and Kol Yisrael. The Israeli families must speak Arabic, English or French. Na'amot is registering the volunteering families.

The volunteering spirit in Eilat and vicinity has created a transportation problem, with the local MDA looking for a trucker willing to haul the clothes to the MDA central collecting station in Kiryat Ono.

A public committee for humanitarian aid to Tyre "has been established in Haifa under Municipality auspices. The committee has opened an account in the main Bank Leumi branch in Haifa, number 1107017.

Another bank account for Lebanon relief has been opened by a group calling itself "Citizens for Humanitarian Relief in Lebanon." The account is in the Tourist Center branch of Bank Leumi, Rehov Ben-Yehuda 130, Tel Aviv. The account is: 86430/59. The sponsoring group includes MKs Shulamit Aloni and Mohammed Wadat and about a dozen other Knesset members.

New Labour talk of joining gov't

By SARAH HONIG

Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — There is increased talk in the Labour Party about the possibility of entering a national unity government, but it has not reached the operative stage yet, nor been discussed by the leadership forum, according to highly placed Labour sources.

The sources stress that this time, the mounting readiness could gather momentum, and there is considerable potential for momentum, given the fact that Labour can now claim that an emergency situation exists in which all Zionist parties must pull together in the interests of the state.

Nevertheless, it was stressed that the catalyst, "which is a must" to set this process into motion, is some sort of an initiative from Prime Minister Menachem Begin, providing that he is still interested in a national unity government.

At the same time, the Labour leadership is entirely aware of the fact that considering the dazzling military success, it would be out of the question for it to demand the defence portfolio. It is said in Labour that had that portfolio been offered some months ago, it would have joined the coalition, arguing that the move was justified by the very fact that the pivotal portfolio

would have been wrested from Defence Minister Ariel Sharon.

But that is now seen as impossible, and it is openly admitted in Labour. Highly ranking party sources say that Chairman Shimon Peres himself is "not entirely opposed to the idea of a national unity government under Begin, providing that certain concessions are made by the government in the phrasing of its territorial and political goals."

If the Labour leadership were indeed serious about joining a national unity coalition, it would trigger a round of wrenching in-fighting within Labour and the Alignment. Mapam and Shulamit Aloni are as opposed as ever to any partnership with the Likud, and the Labour doves, who have been slowly growing more outspoken in their stated opposition to the Lebanon operation, are not likely to be swayed by arguments of national emergency.

The Labour leadership's answer is that this is the first war Israel has waged in which Labour has had absolutely no influence on directions and events. Top party leaders have been saying this over the past few days, and have been regretting the fact that their party did not enter the coalition several months ago. They argue that had they been in-

side, they would have had a considerable voice in deciding policy and goals.

Labour hawks, who in the past were generally more receptive to the idea of a national unity government, are increasingly boosting the idea now. MKs Dov Ben-Meir and Michael Bar-Zohar have come out squarely in favour of the idea. Bar-Zohar, who apparently believes that a majority could now be obtained, said he would like a vote on the matter in party forums.

Bar-Zohar has come out against "those members in Labour who keep criticizing the war unjustifiably. I was in the army, and I saw how utterly convinced the soldiers were that this war is just. People like (MK Rabbi) Menachem Hacohen, who said that blood has been spilt for nothing, are irresponsible. They now only hurt morale, and they are not even close to the truth."

Ben-Meir argued that "opinions in mainstream Labour are fast swinging in favour of a national unity government." He also says Labour must not "get carried away by arguments that the defence minister misled the government, because similar things happened under Ben-Gurion, and we don't want the Likud to throw our past in our faces," he said.

Schoolchildren sort mail for soldiers

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A major behind-the-scenes role in Operation Peace for Galilee is underway at the Tel Aviv-Jaffa postal services centre, which receives and sends tens of thousands of parcels daily to the soldiers fighting in the north.

Working with a depleted staff, due to the many recruitments, the post office is receiving 20 times its peace-time share of parcels from the central and southern regions. Aided by volunteering pupils, the

parcels are sorted out according to the military postal codes, put into separate sacks for each unit, and packed on eight large trucks, which each night head for Nahariya, Rosh Pina and Kiryat Shmuna. From there the sacks are collected by the representatives of the various military units.

The huge hall in the basement bustles with activity. Scores of teenage volunteers carry parcels from an enormous pile at the mouth of a conveyor belt (coming from the ground floor, where the parcels from all over the country are unloaded) and line them up in neat

rows along the walls, according to their military postal codes.

Supervised and directed by reserve soldiers, the teenagers then put the packages in sacks, place them on trolleys and wheel them to the special ramp serving the trucks going north.

"Many of the parcels are badly packed and come apart when they reach us," the district director of the postal services, Moshe Wapnarski, said yesterday. "We repack any parcel which is not secure in cardboard boxes we have prepared for this purpose."

U.S. woman donates \$10,000 to army

HAIFA (Itim). — "I have no son to give for the war, so I am donating \$10,000 instead," a 70-year-old American woman said yesterday at the Haifa town major's office.

At first, the soldiers at the office did not understand what the elderly woman wanted, but eventually a soldier who spoke English gathered that she wanted to make a donation. He directed her to the Soldiers Welfare Association, where she was instructed as to the proper method of donating money to the army.

Disabled vet gives worried mom a lift

HAIFA (Itim). — A disabled army veteran, confined to a wheelchair since a 1973 wound, volunteered a ride this week to the mother of a newly wounded soldier who wanted to pray at the tomb of Meir Ba'al Haneis in Tiberias.

Dani Benita, who operates a flower stall at the gate of Rambam Hospital in Haifa, drove the woman across Galilee to the tomb, where she lit candles, and back.

Geneva Red Cross counting casualties

GENEVA (JAT). — The International Committee of the Red Cross here announced yesterday that its delegates in Lebanon are preparing a list of casualties there. A spokesman said that such a list is the first priority of the organization since lists and numbers published by the Lebanese Red Cross are unreliable.

Rothschild Prizes given to innovators

By HAIM SHAPIRO

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Two advances in communications technology and distinguished academic careers were recognized last night by Rothschild Prizes, awarded at the Knesset in the presence of President Yitzhak Navon.

In bestowing the prizes, Jacob Rothschild noted that this year marks the 100th anniversary of activities initiated by Baron Edmond de Rothschild on behalf of Eretz Yisrael. The prizes mark the advancement towards the goal of "people lumière," that Baron Edmond de Rothschild hoped and worked for, he said.

Tadran was singled out for its development of Shamir, a tactical radio connection in which the sender can switch frequencies at will to avoid enemy interference. The other industrial prize went to ECI Electronics Corporation of

Israel for its line doubler, in which the number of telephone conversations carried on the same line can be multiplied.

Prizes also went to Prof. Yosef Ben-David, for his sociological study of the scientist's role in society; to Prof. Gad Loebenstein, for his study of the response of plants to virus infection; and to Professor Hans Lindner, for his work in endocrinology and reproductive biology.

Prof. Soli Bodner was honoured for his work on viscoelasticity, dynamic plasticity and the constitutive behaviour of materials; Prof. Yeshayahu Tishby, for his study of Kabbalah, messianism and hassidism; and Prof. Saharon Shelah, for his achievements in classification theory and related areas of mathematical logic.

Each prize carries with it an award of \$6,000. In the case of the industrial awards, it is divided among the developing team.

Travel writers to boost tourism

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The American Society of Travel Writers has decided to hold its 1983 convention in Jerusalem.

The decision, which could mean a big boost for the tourist industry, was announced this week by Ethel Blum, president-elect of the society, during a barbeque at Jerusalem's new Laromme Hotel. The reception was held by the Tourism Ministry for its 180 guests who participated in a fly-drive "rally" around Israel. Among its members are newspaper and

magazine journalists, photographers, and radio and TV journalists. Blum said that the convention will bring millions of dollars worth of publicity to Israel.

Another piece of good news for the tourism industry came from Ed Frankfurt, Israel manager of TWA, who announced that his airline was considering opening a non-stop daily service from New York to Ben-Gurion Airport, in addition to the present daily flight via Paris. At present, only El Al runs a non-stop service from New York.

Button tells blind when to cross road

By LEA LEVAVI

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A special traffic signal for the blind, the first of its kind in Israel, has been installed opposite the Ramat Aviv Hotel. This crossing was chosen because traffic noises there are not loud enough to let a blind person know when it is safe to cross.

The new device is a rubber button which vibrates when the light turns green. The blind pedestrian places his hand on the button and waits for

the vibrations.

The signal was developed by the Technological Centre for the Blind at the Centre for Educational Technology, a project supported by the Rothschild Foundation. Blind persons desiring further information, or a raised map of the crossing, may call the centre at 03-423222.

If successful, the signal will be installed elsewhere, Yitzhak Einbary, coordinator of this effort to help the blind through technology, said yesterday.

Consumers complain about price gouging

By YITZHAK OKED

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Many consumers have complained to the Histadrut's Central Consumer Authority that merchants have raised prices higher than the recent 3 per cent increase in Value Added Tax.

Nuzhat Katzav, CCA chairman has called on Ministry of Industry and Trade Gideon Patt and the Merchants Association to have inspectors check shopkeepers.

Katzav has also asked Defence Minister Ariel Sharon to declare that the present army reserve duty is an "emergency service."

If so defined, such service can be used as a legal tool to defer payment of bills and signing of contracts, she said.

She pointed out that such a declaration had been made during the Six Day War and Yom Kippur War.



The Children and Staff of
The Dr. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
Youth Village, Jerusalem

offer to their beloved patron and "Daddy"

Dr. Israel Goldstein

warmest congratulations and best wishes

for health and happiness

on the occasion of his 86th birthday.

Israel, Britain and the Commonwealth Assoc.

regrets to announce that

owing to unforeseen circumstances
the Lecture-Luncheon Meeting fixed for
Tuesday, June 22, 1982,
has been POSTPONED indefinitely.

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4.65 U.S. cents compared to about four in Israel.

mouthed lot who sit in sidewalk kiosks — often with a gun visible in the cash drawer, aren't saying what

FOCUS/THE NORTH

LEBANON DIARY

By JOAN BORSTEN/Jerusalem Post Reporter



*Life was already so terrible
we didn't think it could get
worse if we tried the Israelis'*

Karen Ben-Zion

DAY ONE. A little more than a week after the start of Operation Peace for Galilee, Metulla resembles an army camp. Flags fly from most homes in Israel's northernmost village, founded in 1896 by the Baron Edmond de Rothschild. War vehicles, many of them private cars drafted into service and camouflaged with mud or makeshift "Military Police" banners, roar through the narrow streets and north towards the Good Fence. The more vintage jeeps of Major Sa'ad Haddad's militia, which sport Israeli and Lebanese flags, straddle the curbs. Soldiers call home from a battery of telephones strung from public phone booths and out the window of the local council, which also doubles as an international press communications centre. Dusty soldiers doze on the village lawns.

Hotel Arazim, where the IDF spokesman holds court, is more like a summer camp than an army camp. Lounging on the patio with their feet up, swapping stories, drinking beer and reading newspapers are 150 rather jaded journalists — TV and radio crews, newspaper and magazine reporters. Some jetted in from such places as Tokyo and Johannesburg. Others drove in from Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, where they are based. Wearing taking care of them are representatives of the IDF spokesman — diamond merchants, travel agents, and journalists in peacetime.

THE FOREIGN PRESS are not an easy lot to deal with, especially when there are orders not to allow them into areas that are covered brilliantly and in depth by Israel Television. Ten of the Broadcasting Authority's 12 permanent crews have been mobilized into the service of the army spokesman, as have military correspondents of the local dailies. They are getting all the scoop, complain the war veterans who flow in expecting to do some Vietnam-style reporting. They hate the "Mickey Mouse tours" arranged for them by the spokesman.

"You are wasting our time," rages an English photographer, as the IDF spokesman reports that there will be no trip to the front lines.

"I want to interview just one refugee," declares the correspondent of London's *Daily Mirror*.

Both are at the daily press briefing at the Arazim, postponed from 8 p.m. until 10 so that the assembled journalists could watch Belgium defeat Argentina in the world soccer championship. On the spokesman's agenda, along with an update on fighting in Beirut, is the Red Cross charge that 600,000 Lebanese have been made homeless by the IDF. The entire population of the area captured is not much more than 600,000, says the spokesman, hoarse from yelling at his superiors about the journalists' complaints. The Englishman is unimpressed, but insists he would be less inclined to believe the Red Cross if he met a refugee or two.

The spokesman warns angry journalists not to try slipping across the border, which was easier to do in the early days of the war before the military police were patrolling the area. One French TV crew have already been expelled for going in unaccompanied, their film confiscated. Another French journalist was refused entry into Sidon, reportedly because she was a woman — a rumour that seems improbable given the number of female journalists regularly crossing into Lebanon from Metulla.

The spokesman offers tours to Nabatieh and Hasbaya. The press groan. They've already been to those places, they say. The spokesman throws in interviews with the wounded at Rambam Hospital in Haifa.

"We've already interviewed wounded soldiers," says an American.

Take it or leave it, says the spokesman. Some journalists say they will leave it, and the country, too.

"Maybe this is why we're getting a great press in Israel and a terrible

press in the world," says an Australian based in Jerusalem.

DAY TWO. Those interested in visiting the "boring" areas of southern Lebanon congregate early. They're still hoping for a miracle. Maybe the spokesman will take them someplace exciting like Sidon or Tyre.

Waiting for the convoy to organize is one of the two TV crews which was not mobilized. The journalists bemoan their bad luck and compliment the uniformed cameraman who filmed last Friday's item, on Lebanese refugees, an item that saw reporter Motti Kirschenbaum sent back to civilian life for his efforts.

Promptly at 8.30 — spokesman operates tours like an express laundry, in by 9 and out by 5 — everyone gets into the foreign press' rented cars, which form a convoy.

The first stop is the Good Fence. The last time I was here, in 1975, the Lebanese were crawling through a hole in the barbed wire to get medical treatment from an Israeli doctor doing his *milum* in a tent. Now, with its shops selling postcards, straw purses and T-shirts, the Good Fence resembles a tourist trap. Despite the war, busloads of tourists — Jewish and Christian — roll up. While the tourists make their purchases, we sign forms releasing the IDF from any responsibility for our safety and hand over our press cards. To ensure that no one "accidentally" goes astray and heads for parts unknown and more dangerous, the IDF will keep the cards until the journalists return to Metulla.

Our 12-car convoy crosses into Haddad-land, past a tank sporting pictures of Jesus and the Virgin Mary, as well as Israeli and Lebanese flags. The dirt road has been marked with Hebrew signs pointing the way to Nabatieh, Hasbaya, the Hardaleh bridge, the coastal road.

After passing through some incredibly beautiful countryside — mountains; Beaufort Castle in the distance — we skirt a gutted PLO Jeep and the Nepalese UN headquarters. Now we are in what was Fatah-land a fortnight ago. The front of the Nepalese post has been destroyed — Israeli tanks are apparently wider than the road in some points, which accounts for the large number of bulldozers we see at work during the day.

We follow a long line of Egged buses filled with soldiers, army vehicles, and milk trucks through villages that are remarkably intact. The homes fly white flags and Lebanese flags. Men, are busy tending their tobacco, and wheat crops, women, are hanging out laundry.

Just past the Litani River, the convoy halts for half an hour while a tank which has come off its tracks is moved to the side of the road. The crew say they've been in since the third day of the war and ask us to call home for them. Bringing up the rear is a caravan flying Lebanese flags — "Major Haddad on his way to recruit for his militia," says the burly, red-headed military policeman who asks to see our permits.

The army has become so bureaucratic that we are turned back from Beaufort Castle because its own spokesman doesn't have one of the necessary forms.

Soldiers wave and so do Lebanese villagers as the exasperated foreign press head for Nabatieh, a former PLO stronghold. The city, which once housed 40,000, looks a bit like a movie set for a Western. Stray dogs roam the streets. Flies and litter are everywhere. Many of the multi-storey buildings, which architecturally resemble those in the West Bank, are now only bullet-ridden facades. Homes and businesses have been burned out. A supermarket is still smouldering. No one in the town is willing to guess who might be responsible for the damage.

A Moslem schoolteacher, Abed Ali Whebeh asks if the Israelis will replace his 1964 Mercedes,

destroyed by a bulldozer five days earlier near Sidon, where his parents live. He says he hopes life will be easier now that the Israelis have cleaned out the Palestinians, who were brutal at times. To show how they treated the population, he snaps himself several times.

With the help of Maher Yassin, a 17-year-old science student from the nearby village of Tibret, whose father was wounded by a stray bullet while driving his taxi, Arabic speaking residents of Nabatieh talk about the events of the past eight days.

The Israelis began to drop leaflets from planes on Sunday, they say, warning the Lebanese to stay in their homes and fly white flags. Despite this, four were killed and 20 were hospitalized for wounds, locally and in Sidon. Thirty thousand fled, but it is not clear at which point in recent Lebanese history. Leaving Nabatieh was the privilege of those with money or family in the North. Since the fighting ended, stores have reopened. Food is available but not plentiful, to judge by the storefronts and makeshift stands where vendors sell fresh fruit, vegetables and sweets. One Lebanese complains about shortage of bread, saying he ate only eggs and olives with his tea that morning.

Why did they welcome the Israelis?

"We knew they had come in peace," said one.

"We knew we would be defeated if we fought them," said another.

"We had no choice," said most.

"Life was already so terrible, we didn't think it could get worse if we tried the Israelis."

What becomes clear in discussions with the residents is that they did not like having the Palestinians among them; nor did they like the PLO's foreign mercenaries. A Bengali captured yesterday by the IDF reportedly not only used his gun but also raped several women. The Lebanese didn't know what to expect from the Israelis. Only now are some of them beginning to suspect that they will be left to live in peace.

"I hope that a heavy load has been lifted from our shoulders," said galabla-clad Aili, who returned to Nabatieh eight months ago after five years in Kuwait. "Now I can send my little daughter to the market without fear," he said.

DAY THREE. In Rashaya, a hilltop town 50 kilometres north of Metulla, within spitting distance of the Syrian border, canned Pepsi are selling for IS10, change available in Israeli currency.

The local population of 17,000, 90 per cent Druse, 10 per cent Greek Orthodox, are so cooperative that when an Israeli soldier climbs out of his jeep to make a public announcement, he casually leaves his rifle in the vehicle.

The scenario is familiar, it has been described by every journalist the IDF spokesman has escorted into the predominantly Druse and Christian areas east of the Bek' valley. These areas were occupied in the first days of the war, often without a shot being fired.

The local citizens require little prompting before they begin to complain about the PLO, who bullied them, and the Syrians, who

lorded it over the Lebanese, who had previously lorded it over the Syrians.

"We want to be independent," say the Christians and the Druse. "We don't want any foreign powers in this country."

A chance meeting with Rashaya's middle-aged, black-cassocked priest makes it clear that there was more to the story: "Thank God the Israelis have come," he cries in French, tears literally pouring down his cheeks. "You can't imagine how we have suffered from Kamal Jumblatt's army. They came here regularly with their guns and just took whatever they wanted." (The army of the Progressive Socialist Party is still popularly known as Kamal's army, even though his son Walid has led it since the old man's death in '77.)

All villages in this part of Lebanon look more or less the same: quiet, pleasant homes, painted white, trimmed in blue and green, and clustered around a picturesque church or mosque. The villages would be pretty if every wall were not defaced by jingoistic posters and political graffiti. Despite their highly developed aesthetic sense, the locals don't remove the posters. Behind every slogan is a political party, and behind every party a militia — well armed, and as much a force to be reckoned with in the war for control of Lebanon as the PLO and the Syrians.

The priest complains about Jumblatt's private army. A Druse complains about the Christian militia, and all complain about the

Communists and the pro-Syrian Ba'athists. Local and foreign journalists begin to understand the depth of Lebanese fears in Hasbaya, a 20-minute drive from Metulla on the old Tiberias-Beirut highway.

HASBAYA is primarily Druse, the seat of the religion's most important institution, Helwat Al Bayada. The prosperous looking town of 12,000 offered Israel no resistance. Relations are so cordial that almost no one here bothers to fly a white flag on his roof any more. "In fact," says a reservist, who communicates with the locals in Spanish (many in the town have worked in various parts of South America) "Druse already in the pay of the Lebanese Army immediately volunteered to share responsibility for municipal affairs with the Israeli officials."

Let no one assume that this means the Druse kowtow to foreign powers: when the PLO tried to rent a building for their headquarters, the highest ranking sheikh in town said he would burn down any building they occupied. The result was that they remained outside the town and camped in tents.

But the same Druse who loudly write off the PLO whisper about the "societies" that run the town.

Unemployed youth from Hasbaya and the surrounding villages, they say, were recruited, paid, armed and assigned to run different sectors of the town. A Christian woman explains that you went to various "societies" to get what you needed, be it electricity, water or health services. And you were careful not to offend anyone.

The military government, headed by Israeli Druse Isma'il Kabalan, whose wife has family in Hasbaya, is located in the Soraya, a large building erected by the French to quarter their gendarmes. For years, various local parties fought for control of the Soraya, an ideal place for housing a militia. When the town elders turned it into a school, the parties went elsewhere. Jumblatt's powerful Progressive Socialist Party, for instance, found itself a two-storey building on the other side of town.

Everything remains as the PLO factionalists left it when the Israeli tanks entered Hasbaya. Their green Jeep is outside. On the porch, and in various rooms is an impressive arsenal of carefully stored RPG, anti-tank missiles, rockets, mines and rifles. An indication of Walid Jumblatt's weak stance is the fact that the posters, which are plastered on the walls of every room, glorify his father only. There is one lone photograph of the heir to the Progressive Socialist Party's leadership, a small, dark, and somewhat comical figure, who commanded a church a few minutes away from the Socialists, have almost as many weapons, all scattered in squalid rooms, presided over by portraits of Lenin, Marx and Engels — but not Stalin.

A reservist explains that there certainly are other such caches around town. Posters indicate that numerous other parties, many of which had militias, vied for power in Hasbaya. Each family also casually displays a private arsenal. Because the townspeople have been so cooperative, the IDF has not yet allocated more of its needed manpower to the search. In Nabatieh, yesterday, the IDF officers directed journalists to four arsenals filled with astounding numbers of machine guns, bullets and grenades, as well as a laboratory for bomb construction. The army have not yet found time to search for other storerooms, which they know exist.

They are still busy sorting the terrorists from the local population.

The proud Druse of Hasbaya lived in fear, but not of the PLO. A 65-year-old, Hebrew-speaking veteran, who served in the minorities' unit in Israel from 1948-1952, has not yet informed the military government that he, and a few others in Hasbaya, served in Israel before they returned to Lebanon.

"What if this area is returned like Sinai?" he asks. "Like the Druse of the Golan, we are afraid of the consequences."

Afraid of who?

"The various religious and political factions which terrorized the local population by turning Lebanon into a powder keg."

WE DRIVE north, along the narrow road which parallels the Hasbani River, and then double back. Both routes are crowded with advancing columns of Israeli tanks. Charred reminders have been left in the fields, along with abandoned PLO camps.

No-one knows how long the IDF will remain in Lebanon, but it looks suspiciously as if they've already begun to dig in for a long stay.

Perhaps it is the incredible efficiency of the army during this operation that misleads us. But the roads are already well marked with hand-painted signs. On the coast, speed limits have been posted. Each village has its name inscribed in Hebrew. Bulldozers are busy repairing old roads, building new ones and installing bridges.

IN THE EVENING Charles Pollak, who runs the "Voice of Hope" radio station, is overheard saying he expects the occupation to last a year or two. Perhaps he is reflecting the sentiments of Major Sa'ad Haddad, with whom he has spent the day touring Tyre; or perhaps he, too, senses that it will not be as easy to restore internal harmony to Lebanon as everyone thinks, not even if the Syrians leave and a home is found for the Palestinians.

Pollak and his wife Kathy have been running the "Voice of Hope" 24-hours a day since war broke out in Lebanon. They are helped by some 15 other "born again" Christians.

The Pollaks seem to have total faith in Israel's good intentions. Although their primary goal at the station is "to reunite the Lebanese with God," their love for Israel is transmitted with every broadcast.

"We do not write the news, which is read in English and Arabic, with the idea of spreading pro-Israeli propaganda," says Pollak. "But I believe the truth speaks for itself."

The "Voice of Hope" competes for listeners with the Phalangist "Voice of Lebanon," the PLO "Voice of Arab Palestine," the right-wing Christian radio "Free Lebanon," and the left-wing Moslems "Mourat Bitun." None the less, it is apparently heard loud and clear. Why else would the terrorists have made 30 different attempts, using rockets, artillery, mortars and infiltration to knock the station out?

Its message of Israel's good intentions has certainly helped to calm the fears and allay the suspicions of the local populace.

Israel would do well to remember that these people have had their fill of militias, factions and foreign armies.

It is clear to me that they welcome us because we have promised to restore order, free them from foreign armies, and then go home.

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ANATOMY OF DISSSENT

THERE WAS no sign of trauma, past or present, around as Mordechai Virshubski sipped tea in a Dizengoff cafe. But trauma was the subject, together with Prime Minister Menachem Begin's statement that Operation Peace for Galilee had erased forever the shock of 1973 from the Israeli consciousness.

"I don't see it that way at all. Every war erodes something of the inner strength of our society. I do believe that six wars in 34 years of statehood is just too much for a people which has suffered so much."

Each of Israel's previous five wars — the War of Independence, the Sinai Campaign, the Six Day War, the War of Attrition and the Yom Kippur War — had been defensive in nature. But this one, Virshubski asserted, was different.

"I am convinced that this war was not essential, in the scope and proportion it assumed. To my mind, the attacks on the northern settlements could have been dealt with differently."

"Wasn't there, from the beginning, scepticism among the cabinet ministers? Didn't some of them originally urge the government to restrict the action to punitive raids by the Air Force, and not to plunge the entire country into a state of war?"

Virshubski emphasized that this was the first time that doubts about the conduct of a war had been expressed by a substantial segment of the population. "It isn't just the left fringe. Even some Likud ministers and the two NRP ministers have aired their scepticism at cabinet meetings while the war was raging."

"My entire attitude towards this war is admittedly coloured by my anxieties about the present minister of defence, whom I know has been pushing for war all along."

"Yes, I know the chief-of-staff was exerting similar pressure, but he is not a political figure. Our argument is with the minister, not with the general."

WHY DID he abstain on the DFPE-sponsored no-confidence motion of June 8, while his fellow Shinui MK Amnon Rubinstein had voted with the government? Virshubski said he acted in keeping with the line adopted by his faction, which had for some time "opposed embarking on a military adventure in Lebanon." Shinui, he stressed, had never questioned taking punitive action against terrorist activities.

Here he quoted from interviews given by three former chiefs-of-staff — Haim Bar-Lev, Yitzhak Rabin and Mordechai Gur, all of whom had, in recent months, qualified the alarm against using the army for any political design. "And that was precisely our argument," he said.

Soon after the Argov assassination attempt, Shinui issued a statement urging restraint, he recalled.

When Rubinstein and he were called in to Deputy Premier Simcha Ehrlich's office on the Sunday afternoon for what turned out to be a briefing, they spelled out their position. By then, of course, it was too late. Ehrlich told them the die was cast for military action, "but he reassured us that it would be only of a restricted nature and not go beyond the Zuharani River. It was aimed at stopping the shelling on Israel's northern settlements, and it would soon be over," Virshubski said.

In retrospect, the Shinui MK did not think that Ehrlich had lied to them. "He probably thought that that was what the cabinet had decided, but he forgot what kind of defence minister he had helped install and what he would do with the IDF."



Mordechai Virshubski.

(Uzi Keren)

On Tuesday, Rubinstein decided to support the government on the no-confidence motion, after first considering an abstention. Just before they entered the plenum, Virshubski told his colleague that while he could never vote with the Communists, whom he considered beyond the pale, he could not support the Begin-Sharon government. He simply did not participate in the vote.

The reactions came hot and fast, and Virshubski found himself under fire from some of his own constituency. "I realized before the vote that I was about to take a stand that would not be popular. But I resolved to be at peace with my conscience and be consistent in my political position."

"I do think that those are the moments for which one is elected to the Knesset. It is at such junctures that you prove your worth. Then again, the government never bothered to ask me whether they should go to war; what was left was for me to demonstrate where I stood on a life-and-death issue. I did not attack the government; I kept out of it."

His wife got a threatening phone call that night and another one warning her that a bomb would be placed at their door. "We were worried about our son, Gadi, serving with the army in the north, and those calls certainly didn't help," he observed. The initial response from members of his party and ordinary citizens was about evenly divided between criticism and support, but the pendulum gradually swung until about 70 per cent backed him. Some letters praise his courage in standing against the tide. He now thinks he was more than justified in having stood aside in the no-confidence vote. "If more MKs had done the same then it would have strengthened the few ministers who tried to restrain Sharon. I think it was just because of the massive majority that the government felt it could proceed and expand the operation."

"In my opinion, the cabinet's original design was superseded by Sharon's headlong dash northwards."

Virshubski was appalled by the terrible price paid by the Lebanese population and the IDF. Under Sharon, he asserted, it had become a different army. The Shinui MK strongly believed that the public would awaken from "Beaufortia" much sooner than expected, and ponder the heavy cost in human and financial resources of the war in Lebanon, with far-reaching political results.

HERUT KNESSET faction chairman Ronnie Milo couldn't dis-

agree more with Virshubski. Indeed, he was persuaded that the Shinui MK's dissent was only shared by a small minority of the nation.

On the whole, Milo said he had found opposition members of the Knesset Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee to be in general agreement with the government's conduct of the war.

We met at a cafe on Tel Aviv's Rehov Ibn Gabirol in midweek. Milo had just returned from a visit to the front lines, with other members of the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee.

While the young Herut leader was totally convinced that the military campaign had been worthwhile, despite the terrible loss of life, he had no doubts about the sincerity of the dissenters. Even Virshubski, he pointed out, had agreed that the threat to northern settlements must be removed.

The removal of that threat, he said, was one of the war's three main accomplishments. The others were the crushing of the PLO, and the exorcising of the ghost of the Yom Kippur War from the mind of the nation, the Jewish People, and, above all, the Israel Defence Forces.

"I saw," he said, "how the army has recovered its self-confidence. The fighting with the terrorists was no walkover. They did not run away, they died with their fingers on the trigger. We were accustomed to the stubborn fighting of the Syrian Army, but we'd rarely seen that before in PLO units."

He was impressed by the high morale of our soldiers on the Syrian front, which he had toured that morning. "They told us 'You can depend on us'."

Ever the loyal Herutnik, Milo protested the idea that Premier Begin and his government had not been in control of the situation. "I can assure you that all decisions were only taken after cabinet approval. You know, I do think that just because Sharon regards himself as being under a cloud of suspicion, that he takes double care, and always obtains prior endorsement from the cabinet before taking steps."

But why, we asked, had the army gone so far beyond the original target of the Zaharani River as outlined by Deputy Premier Simcha Ehrlich to the Shinui MKs?

Patiently, the Likud front-bencher explained that the original limit of clearing the 45 kilometre zone had expanded by the need to crush the terrorists once and for all.

Time and again he emphasized that there had been constant political control over the army's actions, both from the cabinet and the Knesset Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee, which was in daily

Israel's sixth war has been accompanied by a new phenomenon — dissent. The criticism ranges from distaste over 'Beaufortia' to a questioning of the operation as a whole. Post Political Correspondent Mark Segal discusses the development with two MKs who have very different views — Shinui's Mordechai Virshubski and Herut's Ronnie Milo — as well as with Tel Aviv University psychology Professor Hans Kreitler.



Ronnie Milo.

(Elihu Harari)

session and had met constantly with senior officers.

Milo was unreservedly enthusiastic about the campaign and its outcome: "From a military standpoint, its success is obvious to the world at large, and I am confident that Israel's position will be that much stronger. As for the international political aspects, the U.S. acted magnificently towards us. The Europeans went through the motions but stayed out. The Russians only paid lip-service until most of the battles were over. By and large, the Arab world remained silent. Yes, it can be said that we did the dirty work for the rest of the world by extirpating the centre of international terrorism."

The Likud spokesman thought that one point had been overlooked — the importance of the peace treaty with Egypt, which had survived its first major test. "Any residual suspicions towards Egypt have vanished. We have seen that, despite verbal criticism from Cairo, they kept faith with the treaty. And very few people noted what I consider a real turning point — how the PLO leadership sought to use Cairo's good offices to appeal to us for a cease-fire. All our arguments have been upheld — by making peace with us, Cairo has become the Arab world's conduit to Jerusalem. That, of course, is also something of an achievement for Egypt, which now should have an interest in a strong Israel. That enhances Cairo's position as the bridge between us and the rest of the Arab world. In the past they would apply to the Saudis, who would contact Washington, to put pressure on us. Now Cairo is the prime address."

CASUALTIES had been heavy, Milo agreed, but that was inevitable in a war. He hastened to point out the IDF's great achievements, both for Israel and for the west. First and foremost was the successful strike against the Soviet missiles in the Bek' Valley; the best demonstration of how much of a blow that was to Soviet worldwide strategy was the haste with which Moscow sent top-level officials to Damascus, to assess the damage. Then there was the way that Israel's Merkava had performed against the feared Soviet T-72, heretofore considered by Western experts to be the best battle tank in the world.

The IDF would definitely not enter Beirut, he said, "in keeping with our concept of never occupying an Arab capital city. But that does not mean we will not seek to smash terrorist bases in West Beirut. You know, we could have entered the city and captured Arafat and other top terrorists; we refrained from doing so, in order to avoid causing so many casualties."

Before the IDF returned home, he said, Israel would have to insist on a 'new order' in Lebanon. He fully endorsed the government's position calling for the exit of all

foreign forces from Lebanon, including Israel's, so as to ensure the restoration of the authority of the Lebanese government.

THE HERUT MK did turn critical when we discussed the Army Spokesman's news blackout, which had allowed wild rumours of casualty figures to spread throughout the country and anti-Israel atrocity stories to traverse the globe. "I am far from happy with the Army Spokesman, especially as far as releasing reports on civilian casualties. After all, it was the first time that the cabinet adopted the guideline which sought to keep from harming the civilian population so far as it was feasible. The spokesman agreed to this guideline, and it was accepted with alacrity by our military command, even though everyone knew it might prove costly in terms of our casualties."

Milo was very angry with the Army Spokesman, Tat-Aluf Ya'acov Even, whom he thinks fell down on his job. "Many of our casualties were the result of the decision to embark on house-to-house combat in flushing out the terrorists. We could have bombed the places to smithereens to save our own boys, but we consciously decided to do it the hard way, to minimize civilian suffering. The extension of 'battle fog,' he said, had undermined what should have been the basis for a first-class information campaign. "Instead of the world knowing how we avoided human suffering, the only story they know is of devastation. The world does not see all those untouched parts of Tyre and Sidon, where there was no civilian presence and no IDF fire."

"Did you know that the entrance to Sidon was put off for half a day in order to enable the civilian population to vacate the neighbourhoods in which the PLO units had taken cover? We lost the important element of surprise, for which we paid in casualties, including a high number of officers," he declared, adding savagely: "And that has not been conveyed to the world. No wonder there are those urging changes at the Army Spokesman's office."

He proceeded to note that due to the "totally unimaginative approach of the Army Spokesman towards the media's reflection of Israel's actions in battle, atrocity stories are now circulating the globe. There's the fabrication of 600,000 civilians left without homes, when there are only 350,000 people at the most living in the area presently under IDF control." Milo hoped that the result might be peace with a newly independent Lebanon.

PROFESSOR Hans Kreitler, 65, is an international authority in cognitive psychology. He came on aliyah in 1938 from Vienna. Ze'ev Jabotinsky, the founder of the Revisionist movement, was a close

the cease-fire with the PLO had been kept — at least along the northern border — for almost a year. There is also the difference between the country being threatened and individual citizens feeling they are at risk, and today — when neither is the case."

The psychologist saw deeper causes for the new phenomenon of dissent: "Israelis have always been critical of those in authority. Up to now, it had been generally accepted under all governments that our army's actions were morally justified and as far as possible humane. Just before the war began, questions were being asked to an increasing degree over the conduct of army units in Judea and Samaria. People wondered how shooting at demonstrators' legs could kill them. I think that at the core of this dissent lies the questioning of the morality of our military behaviour, what used to be called *tehar* *haneshkek*. This questioning was deepened even further by the reports of casualties in Lebanon during the fighting. So one hears people wondering out loud whether the cost in human lives on our side — and theirs — was worthwhile."

Kreitler focused on another aspect: "There was also another phenomenon. The depth of shock at the casualty figures."

"Not that in previous conflicts there had not been widespread shock and grief over casualty lists. But on those occasions, the sorrow and pain had been balanced by the acceptance of the overriding consideration of saving the state and the nation."

The professor noted that "for various reasons, previous governments projected a non-militaristic image. The main burden of criticism of the authorities in 1967 and 1973 was that they had not been sufficiently eager to go to war. In 1982, the image of the incumbent government is radical and militaristic."

The cause for the spread of rumours about the casualty rate, Kreidler believed, sprang from part of the population's lack of confidence in the veracity of government statements. "The present government had shown incipient paranoia in the past towards the media, and as the war developed, people were obliged to rely on foreign news sources. The feeling spread that the government was not telling the truth, which is also an innovation among us at wartime. I do think that this mistrust was nourished by the army not issuing communiqués, not only about our casualties but about the operation's aim. Then a number of government spokesmen added to the confusion by contradicting themselves as to when, and where, the cease-fire might go into effect. So doubts mounted even more regarding the credibility of reports from official sources."

As to the prime beneficial result of the war, the psychologists numbered the restored confidence in the IDF's capacity to defend the country against its enemies and the proving of the reliability of the peace treaty with Egypt, which would also enhance the sense of national well-being.

Taking a broader view, the two professors took up a question on the different perceptions of Jewish exile character. "There is a *gashon* *write* between the Diaspora concept of what Jews are, and the biblical picture of Jews, which is close to what has emerged in Israel. As in ancient times, we are outstanding fighters, we also have the unfortunate tale of entangling with the great powers of the time."

He closed by agreeing with Pirkei the *stuv* Yehoshaphat Harkabi's concept: an the damage wrought by *Beis* *wave* *0* Kocba's revolt 1,800 years ago: *favor* *could* one reads history books properly, Bank *is* finds two outstanding trends *mon*, the Jewish character — the ability *come* *very* *s* fight and sacrifice, and the capacity *Bank* *is* for survival."

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Post Washington Correspondent Wolf Blitzer assesses the U.S. reaction to Israel's operation in Lebanon

Washington's low profile

FROM THE DAY he arrived in Washington last February, Israel's ambassador in Washington, Moshe Arens, knew that Israel would eventually have to move its ground forces into Lebanon to combat the PLO. "It's only a matter of time until the PLO provokes us into doing it," he told reporters at an embassy briefing shortly after arriving in Washington.

From that day on, Arens and his embassy staff spent a great deal of time and energy trying to prepare the U.S. for such an eventuality.

There were intensive discussions about the situation in Lebanon with high-level Reagan Administration officials, as well as in-depth briefings for key members of the Senate and House of Representatives.

Arens also knew that it was crucial to lay the groundwork for the U.S. public's understanding of the threats facing Israel.

During the military battles, Israel, of course, was very successful. At the same time, Israel also won some clear battles in Washington—in the administration, congress, the media and among the public at large.

There has been criticism of Israel, to be sure. But Israeli diplomatic sources in Washington have been rather pleased by the overall reaction in the U.S., at virtually all levels. It was about as good as Israel could have hoped for, they said.

The Reagan Administration, remarkably restrained in its public response, has been much firmer with Jerusalem in private. There have been some very strained diplomatic conversations, particularly after Israel moved beyond the originally stated objective of clearing the PLO out of a 40km.

buffer zone along the Israeli frontier. But still, Israeli officials are not complaining.

The Reagan Administration may have caused Israel a lot of headaches in the past, especially during its campaign to sell AWACS surveillance aircraft to Saudi Arabia last year. But Israeli officials and their American-Jewish supporters insisted that the White House and the State Department were surprisingly supportive of Israel during Operation Peace for Galilee—much better than they had expected.

GIVEN THE apparently large numbers of civilian casualties in Lebanon, there is a parallel sense among these partisans that the U.S. reaction probably would have been much tougher toward Israel had Jimmy Carter been in the White House.

"Carter was such a moralist and pacifist," one Jewish political activist said. "He would have condemned Israel's actions from the start."

The Reagan people have a different world view. Writing in *The Washington Post* on June 16, former secretary of state Henry Kissinger seemed to reflect the administration's basic support of what Israel has done to rearrange the strategic situation in the region.

The results of the Israeli attack, he said, "were congruent with the interest of the peace process in the Middle East, of all moderate governments in the area and of the United States."

"It would serve nobody's purpose



From left: Ronald Reagan, Menachem Begin, Alexander Haig.

(Camera Press, Keren, Rubinger)

to restore PLO control over Lebanon or Syrian pre-eminence in Beirut," he continued. "The United States can have no interest in salvaging Arab radicalism or rewarding military reliance on the Soviet Union. The general position of the administration is wise and statesmanlike: to promote the

withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, to re-establish a strong Lebanese central government whose authority runs throughout a genuinely neutral country."

MOST DIPLOMATIC observers in Washington always suspected that

the administration might try to distance the U.S. from Israel by imposing some sanctions. From the start, Israeli officials had been bracing for a firm U.S. response. But so far, the public expressions of opposition to the Israeli actions have been muted. Indeed, Haig and other senior U.S. officials, on a number of occa-

sions, have sounded very much like their Israeli counterparts over the past few days.

Even the threat of postponing the formal notification to congress of the \$2.5b. sale of 75 additional F-16 fighters to Israel—it was supposed to go forward this week—has not been viewed by Israeli officials as all that serious.

For one thing they said, delivery of the planes is not slated to start for several years. A brief delay in submitting the letter to Congress is not going to amount to much of a headache for Israel, they added.

General Dynamics, the manufacturer of the F-16, is very confident that the sale will ultimately be approved by both the administration and the Congress, irrespective of any delay in sending the formal letter to Capitol Hill.

The U.S. reaction might become more severe if the cease-fire involving Israel, the Syrians and the PLO does not take hold very soon. Washington has made it clear—both publicly and privately—that it wants the fighting stopped immediately.

Most Israeli officials here believe that it is in Israel's interest to secure the cease-fire. They don't want to press their luck by testing the limits of the Reagan Administration's patience with Israel.

THE ISRAELI Embassy was assured by a senior State Department official on Tuesday that President Ronald Reagan will meet with Prime Minister Menachem Begin at the White House on Monday as previously scheduled. Earlier in the day, the State Department had interjected a disconcerting note of

some doubt regarding that meeting, spokesman Dean Fischer saying it was still "tentative."

Even though Israeli and U.S. officials are convinced that the meeting will take place, everyone understood the not-so-subtle U.S. message to Israel: honour the cease-fire in Lebanon.

Virtually all U.S. officials believe that the fighting would stop immediately if Israel so wanted, given its tremendous military advantage over Syria and the PLO at present. Therefore, they are primarily blaming Israel for the continued killing.

If, for some reason, Begin is not invited to the White House on June 21, a real strain in American-Israeli ties would emerge. A decision by Reagan not to see Begin would represent a tremendous personal slap at the prime minister and at Israel. Reagan Administration officials are fully aware of the consequences of such a course of action.

The conventional wisdom among many traditional U.S. Middle East specialists is that American interests in the Arab world have suffered severely as a result of the Israeli strike against the PLO and Syrian forces in Lebanon.

But fortunately for Israel, key voices in the Reagan Administration agree with Kissinger that an opportunity now exists to take advantage of the newly created situation to bolster U.S. prestige in the region—at the expense of the Soviet Union.

They also recognize, however, that the U.S. will need Israel's cooperation in the venture.

The writer is The Jerusalem Post's Washington Correspondent.

Role of the media

By LEA LEVAVI / Jerusalem Post Reporter



From left: Hanna Zemer, Yosef Lapid, Yoram Dinstein.

(IPPA)

"DURING THE Six Day War, we broadcast truth and thought it was because that's the kind of people we are. During the Yom Kippur War, we broadcast lies; we were misled and misled others, and then we discovered that we had broadcast truth during the Six Day War not because we were nice guys, but because the truth had been pleasant. We're broadcasting truth now, but not the whole truth, and since half-truths can sometimes be worse than outright lies, that adds to our responsibility in times like this."

The speaker is Yosef Lapid, director-general of the Broadcasting Authority and the topic is the role of media in wartime. The place is Tel Aviv University last Monday night. Lapid says that though we will later discover new details, the general qualitative picture we're getting now is the truth about the current situation.

Davar editor-in-chief Hanna Zemer says she is losing sleep over the real role of media in wartime.

If the media's job in wartime is to follow the war effort wherever it's going and to keep up morale, all the media in Israel are doing an excellent job.

But if the media's task should be to view the situation critically and to raise the doubts and questions some people feel, then all the media in Israel are failing miserably.

"We don't write certain things, because we think of the boys we know who are fighting, or families we know that have lost a son hus-

band or father in this war, and we're afraid to raise doubts."

AS AN EXAMPLE, Zemer says that whenever she hears talk about the terrorists being destroyed, she remembers a press conference in Sinai in 1967, where Ariel Sharon announced that his generation will not have to fight again, because the Egyptian army will need 20 years to recover from the blow it received in the Six Day War.

"I wonder if he remembers that, considering the war of attrition three years later and the Yom Kippur War three years after that... I wrote very carefully that there's a point at which additional military successes in the field aren't worth the human cost; I wrote it once so that the prime minister and defense minister would understand, but I didn't write it ten times so that every reader would get the message."

A friend from the United States, who had been with her in the concentration camp, called to say that the TV pictures of Lebanese refugees reminded her of the transports during the Holocaust.

"I don't doubt that our soldiers have tried to avoid hurting civilians, as we're being told repeatedly. But it's only part of the truth."

"The other part, which nobody is talking about, is that hundreds of thousands of Lebanese are homeless, because we've bombed

and shelled their houses from the air and from the sea."

Zemer raised the question of whether these and other issues should be discussed openly in the media, or whether the media should continue "to follow the national effort wherever it goes: 45 kilometres,

or to Beirut or, if it went to Damascus, then to Damascus."

MK Gad Ya'acobi, moderator of the debate, comments that on these questions, there are differences of opinion within the Labour Party, as well as within the Likud, not to mention between the two. He per-

sonally has reservations about the way the war has developed, but doesn't express them in public, because this isn't the time.

Lapid, says it's impossible to satisfy everyone. Whatever radio and television broadcast will be considered either too liberal or too

patriotic by some segment of the population.

He cites satellite pictures showing an Israeli pilot being dragged and beaten. It was a strong bit of anti-PLO propaganda, he says, but at the same time it would be painful for the pilot's family and those whose loved ones could be in a similar situation. "A few minutes after we decided not to show the picture, the chief censor called me and said that had we decided otherwise, he would have forbidden us to broadcast them."

Lapid adds that there have been questions as to whether to show the destruction of Lebanese cities. "We knew the Israelis wouldn't like those pictures. It wasn't very pleasant to hear that once Lebanese man say, 'this was my new car, now it's my old car.' At the same time, we couldn't take upon ourselves the responsibility of hiding the information from the people."

PROFESSOR Yoram Dinstein, rector of Tel Aviv University, wonders why reporters haven't made more of obvious discrepancies in official communiqués. "The defence minister held a live press conference on Friday and said there were over a 100 killed, whereas the daily casualty count supplied by the military spokesman would have added up to between 60 and 70. Why didn't the reporter from Davar, or from some other paper, ask the minister why his figures were 50 per cent higher."

"Why did an officer in uniform interview the chief-of-staff; it left you with the feeling that maybe the questions were dictated to him two minutes before the interview—as an order. I even wondered whether the uniform was a hint to us not to take the questions seriously."

"If the questions were serious, why didn't the reporter ask what we were doing in Denour (which had been televised only a few minutes before the interview) if the goal was a 40-kilometre strip, as Sharon claimed."

"Sometimes I wonder if the problem could be that some of our journalists don't know how to do their job." Dinstein adds that Tel Aviv University plans to open a journalism department.

Hanna Zemer says in reply that most journalists don't go to journalism schools, and most journalism school graduates don't end up working on newspapers. Even if Tel Aviv University graduates did join newspaper staffs, she didn't think a school of journalism could provide answers to how the individual journalist or newspaper should deal with situations like the current one.

It's a matter of conscience, she says, and something everyone has to argue out with himself each time a decision must be made about whether to publish or broadcast a particular item.

The debate was held in memory of Mosh Haviv, who was killed during the Six Day War in the fight over the Golan Heights.

West Bank realities

By HAIM SHAPIRO / Jerusalem Post Reporter

was the standard condemnation of Israel for the attack on Lebanon, but the statement also blamed the Arab states which "kept silent."

MEANWHILE, the Palestinians in the territories are beginning to say—privately, at least—that it was a mistake for the PLO to "provoke the Israelis" into launching the attack. Publicly, of course, they are still claiming to solidly support the PLO.

But what appeared only a few weeks ago to be the urgent, pressing issues of Palestinian identity, entity or autonomy, have all been pushed aside: "Whether we like it or not, it will now take another 15 years for the West Bank and Gaza to again come to the fore," the source quoted one educated West Bank resident as saying.

At least part of this feeling is the result of the continued contact between Israelis and Palestinians since 1967. Whatever mistakes the Israelis have made—and the

source can cite many blunders committed by the Israeli militia government—"we have absorbed Israeli technology."

"The fact that we have mixed with Israelis, albeit not as equals, has affected us socially, economically and politically." Now, for example, when Israel reports that it has relatively few war casualties, people tend to believe it, rather than continue to place their trust in the wild reports of the Arab regimes.

And, the source maintains, of those actually living under Israeli occupation, there are hardly any who want, or believe they can, drive out the Israelis: "Arabs who feel like that are no more numerous than your own supporters of Rabbi Meir Kahane, who couldn't even get enough votes to have even one seat in the Knesset," the source said.

But, he added, at this point he sees no solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in sight. "Now,"

he says, "there is contact. Israelis can come to us to eat hummus and buy cheap vegetables and we go to Israel to work. But there must be more real communication."

Sophisticated Palestinians are even beginning to see that there can be no solution imposed by the superpowers. American pressure on Israel is limited. As for the Soviet Union, its anti-Israeli stance has made it ineffective. If there is any hope from the outside, it must come

from people like French President Francois Mitterrand, who is seen as a friend of Israel.

"In the past 15 years we didn't achieve too much," the source says, "but it will be the challenge of our generation to work for peace for our sons. Going to war is easier, but we must make the effort."

"And," he adds, "it is a race against time. Soon it will be too late."

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A bitter appraisal

By DAVID LANDAU

THE RIFLE fusillades rattling across the Jerusalem hills from the Mt. Herzl military cemetery made a fitting backdrop for Gideon Rafael's sombre ruminations. The former diplomat applied a keen and experienced mind to analyzing the diplomatic power-play behind the war, and spoke with a bitter and grieving heart to criticize the Israeli government and its motives.



Gideon Rafael

He awaits, as he says, "the mourning after," when the Israeli people will count their dead, will survey with horror the massive death and destruction on the other side of the border and will measure these against "the meagre political results" achieved by the campaign.

First, the dispassionate analysis. All of Israel's wars since 1956, says Rafael, were effectively brought to a halt "by a Soviet ultimatum delivered in an American envelope." The Peace for Galilee campaign is following the same pattern.

The Soviets, he says, cannot afford to allow their ally, Syria, to be defeated on Syrian soil. That is why they stepped in, with a stiff letter from Brezhnev to Reagan, when the IDF threatened to break through in the east and open up an invasion route along the road to Damascus.

Brezhnev's concern "clearly registered in Washington," Rafael says, and Reagan wrote to Begin to call it a day.

The Israeli prime minister, he himself later explained, succeeded in deferring the deadline for a few more hours by assuring the Americans that the IDF would not do anything of a drastic or strategic nature, but merely improve its lines and mop up.

Sharon, however, carried on regardless — and the IDF encircled Beirut. This has elicited a stronger Soviet reaction. The Kremlin apparently feels, especially after the drubbing of its arms and allies, that it must show the Arab world it can prevent Israel from marching into an Arab capital, that it can save Lebanon.

As so often in the past, the Soviets are acting through a diplomatic proxy: the U.S. In this case, their pressure on Washington is paralleled by America's own firm opposition to Israel's advancing on Beirut.

While the U.S. is now seeking to restrain the IDF, there can be no doubt that Washington watched the earlier stages of the Israeli advance into south Lebanon with equanimity. Rafael lists several reasons to account for this basically supportive U.S. attitude:

□ The Reagan Administration is genuinely concerned at the growth of international terrorism and regarded Israel's action against the PLO as an important blow at that cancer.

□ The U.S. hopes that a new, stable, pro-Western government might emerge from the aftermath of the campaign in Lebanon.

□ The superiority of U.S. military equipment was proven for all the world to see. This will have direct results in the military hardware market. "I can hardly imagine King Hussein buying SAM missiles now," says Rafael.

□ A Soviet ally was humiliated in the field — and required American diplomacy to extricate it. Saving the Syrian army in the Bek'a was in some ways comparable to Kissinger's saving of the Egyptian Third Army in 1973. It opens new opportunities for U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East and Kissinger's pupil, Secretary Haig, is seizing them.

□ Washington may well have felt that "Israel had to get this out of her system." (Sharon said on television that the U.S. was not surprised by the campaign; they knew it was coming.) American policymakers may believe that Israel will now be more manageable, having accomplished this desperate need to rid itself of the PLO threat in the north.

TURNING HIS focus from the big powers and their opportunism to the Israeli government's performance, Rafael seethes with bitterness. He accuses Begin of "peddling superficial trash" in his television interview this week.

The prime minister originally advertised the campaign as aimed at sweeping the terrorists out of a 40-45km. zone north of the border. This was a limited, justifiable goal. "But actions speak louder than words," says Rafael. The campaign grew beyond recognition. There were "disproportionate losses on our side, due to the difficult terrain, and enormous civilian suffering on the other side."

To explain and justify these, Premier Begin has come up with "the contrived argument" that the campaign was a war of survival, like Israel's previous wars, in that it erased the trauma of the Yom Kippur War. Begin argued that that trauma had weakened the nation internally, and weakened its deterrent strength in the eyes of its enemies.

Operation Peace for Galilee righted this, and was therefore a battle for existence, on par with Israel's other wars.

Rafael notes wryly that this lofty objective was not announced at the outset, but only after the war had taken its course. He finds the prime minister's presentation offensive.

"To compare Kiryat Shmona with Coventry (in order to explain the bombing of Sidon) is an enormity, a horrible thing," Begin has "no sense of proportion, and that, in a statesman, is dangerous."

But the premier contradicted himself too, Rafael continues. "If Arafat is a 'schvitzer' and a braggart — then why use sledge-hammer tactics against him?" What of the moral dimension involved in massive bombing?

Rafael believes that in addition to the initially announced aim of the campaign (the *cordon sanitaire*), and the *ex post facto* contrived goal (salvaging the 1973 trauma), Begin and Sharon still nurture the undeclared goal of breaking the Palestinian resistance to the effective Israeli annexation of the West Bank and Gaza.

In this, he says, they overreach themselves — and endanger even the attainment of the limited and justified objective against the PLO.

The writer is The Jerusalem Post's Diplomatic Correspondent.

AS THE FIGHTING in Lebanon winds down at the end of a dramatic fortnight, the indications are that the political in-fighting in Israel will be stepped up to its normal super-decibel level. And, as usual, the participants in this in-fighting will be mixing up primary and secondary issues.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin's political leadership over the past five years has, by and large, been divisive and extremely polarizing, exceeded, if anything, only by that of Defence Minister — and former settlement "czar" — Ariel Sharon.

A very random spot poll I carried out following the television appearances of Begin and Sharon on Tuesday and Wednesday nights, respectively, thus led to conclusions that were to be expected from such a leadership style: Those I questioned — who represent the close-to-half of Israel who cannot stand either of these two gentlemen — didn't believe a word they had said.

Those whom I would assume to speak for the close-to-the-other-half of the electorate, lapped it up, enjoyed every minute of the success of Israel's two foremost leaders in arguing down the hapless television interviewers who, in the eyes of this half of Israel, represent the hostile, outside world.

IT IS the sort of vitriolic confrontation that we, as Jews — and especially as super-heated Israeli Jews — just lap up. In this we would seem to resemble Irishmen. And, yes, possibly even Arabs, particularly Palestinian Arabs. The issues of who decided, who led whom by the nose, who was bamboozled, are indeed fascinating. They will be grist for our political mills over the coming weeks.

But despite the obvious fascination these issues have for us, they are distinctly secondary to the main questions that have emerged with the creation of a new military and political reality in Lebanon as a result of the dramatic success of Israel's arms over the past fortnight.

The public debate over what Israel should do about the PLO in Lebanon has been going on for some time. There has been a broad public consensus about the unmitigated and inherent enmity of the PLO to the very idea of Israel's existence and the need to undermine, if not extirpate, its capacity to give murderous expression to that hostility.

The major differences of opinion concerned the various assessments of our ability to strike a mortal blow at the PLO and the cost of such an attempt, both in terms of lives lost and in a further undermining of our political position in the world.

There can be little doubt today that at the outset of the campaign the cabinet was not informed, and did not at that time approve of, the

MARGARET THATCHER observed last week that Israel is not allowed to invade Lebanon, just as Argentina is not allowed to invade the Falkland Islands.

If a distinction is to be made between invaders and liberators, let us get the facts straight. The invaders of Lebanon are not the Israelis, but the Syrians and the PLO. The Israeli attack was not against the Lebanese, it was against the occupiers of Lebanon. The aim is to liberate that country from two foreign armies which chose to make Lebanon a springboard for their operations against Israel.

Did the British premier not observe the slaughter of Christians that recently took place in Lebanon? The British will answer that that is another matter. They will say that it's an inter-Arab dispute. They will claim that the Syrians are not foreign aggressors in Lebanon, as the Soviets are foreign aggressors in Afghanistan. The Syrians and the Lebanese are kith and kin, their dispute is, as it were, a domestic one.

This is a very convenient argument, the only trouble being that when Israel uses it, the British find it unconvincing. I have often pointed out to visiting British journalists that, since I was born, 20 Arab sovereigns have surfaced in the Middle East and North Africa, covering an area bigger than all Europe.

One Israeli sovereignty was sought by the Jews, in an area the size of Wales. Of 100 million Arabs, originating in the Arabian desert and spreading over the entire region, close to 2 million had overlapped into the area called Palestine, or Eretz Yisrael. That is the problem, I said.

Not so, they answer, you speak of the Arabs as if they were one people, but each Arab nation is different, just as each European nation is different. The comparison should not be between Jew and Arab, but between Jew and Palestinian. Then it emerges that the Jews have a sovereignty and the Palestinians have none.

Very well, but what about the Syrian presence in Lebanon? If Syria is as different from Lebanon as one European nation is from another, why did the Western powers accept Syria's incursion into Lebanon, even during an inter-communal conflict, as a non-violation of Lebanese sovereignty?

When Syrian guns were pounding Lebanese Christians in Lebanon, why was that not a breach of international law?

ALTHOUGH ISRAEL'S war is not against the Lebanese, or against civilians, Lebanese civilians have suffered terribly. Many Israelis were appalled by the decision to invade Lebanon because of the death and destruction that was bound to involve innocent bystanders.

The armed forces, as Ariel Sharon has stressed, made exceptional efforts to pinpoint military targets and avoid needless civilian casualties. But the PLO and the Lebanese civilians were inextricably mixed, and the dismal results, common to all wars in inhabited areas, were on every television screen.

The thing that reconciled most Israelis to the campaign was its momentous achievements. This was the only saving grace to set against

SEPARATING THE ISSUES

By YOSEF GOELL



(Defense Ministry)

broader goals of fighting on to Beirut and of taking on the Syrians on the Beirut-Damascus highway and in the Bek'a, which were definitely in Sharon's mind and, possibly, in that of Begin.

In that sense, the ministers who spoke to my colleagues, Mark Segal and Asher Wallfish, claiming that they had been led by the nose, were absolutely correct, despite the formal disclaimers by Begin and Sharon.

BUT THE FACT remains that the new realities created by that conscious piecemeal bamboozling of the cabinet are potentially extremely advantageous to Israel.

Regardless of what any of us may think of Messrs. Begin and Sharon, or of their political methods, those who are united around the concept of what is good for Israel should fervently hope that Israel's leadership will succeed in pulling off the political second stage to the brilliant first military stage.

If there is even a glimmer of hope of establishing a new order in Lebanon that could reduce the threat to Israel and its citizens from the north, it should be attempted and fought for with tenacity.

There is, of course, the possibility that we will not be able to pull it off that the critics who argued that Israel should not have bitten off more than it could hope to chew politically, given its limited political resources, were right.

There will be time enough for such criticism if we, indeed, fail. At present, there is no reason for us to presume such automatic failure and every reason to strain every sinew of our political muscle to fight for success.

AS FOR the secondary issues, was the cabinet led by the nose and asked for approval for piecemeal military goals that grew from day to day? Apparently, yes. But it could not have been otherwise, given the lackluster nature of the cabinet (surely a vast understatement of the true situation) and the imperial nature of Begin's dominance over it on issues that are close to his heart.

Begin and Sharon would seem to be technically correct in their claim of daily and sometimes even twice daily consultations with the cabinet. It is certainly not their "fault" that their colleagues have consistently demonstrated such a low level of understanding and an even more

abysmal level of moral fortitude in standing up for their belief against their more aggressive and charismatic colleagues.

Basically, the cabinet ministers are themselves at fault for permitting themselves to be led on.

It is instructive to compare the second Begin cabinet in this connection with his first, in which such ministers with distinctive military backgrounds as Dayan, Yadin, Amit, Weizman and Sharon, would not have let any single minister, or prime minister, turn into a sole dictator on military policy.

In the second Begin government, only Communications Minister Mordechai Zupori can be said to have similar military background and understanding, and he has effectively been shunted to the sidelines by Begin and Sharon.

The absence of an effective war cabinet, a small ministerial security committee and professional national security council, which was recommended by the Barak Committee in 1973, is a major flaw in the Yom Kippur War, also meant that military decisions were brought before an enlarged cabinet which did not fully grasp the implications of what it was deciding.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

The dilemma of survival

By DAVID KRIVINE

ment, the only trouble being that when Israel uses it, the British find it unconvincing. I have often pointed out to visiting British journalists that, since I was born, 20 Arab sovereigns have surfaced in the Middle East and North Africa, covering an area bigger than all Europe.

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The thing that reconciled most Israelis to the campaign was its momentous achievements. This was the only saving grace to set against

the suffering that was deplored by all.

The stated objective was to put a stop, once and for all, to the shell-fire that has been pounding Israel's northern cities and settlements for so long. A good deal more than that has been accomplished. The balance of power has changed in the Middle East.

THE YOM KIPPUR war left a blemish. Israel's legendary superiority in arms seemed a thing of the past. The heroic days were over, ideals were sneered at. A new generation affected to be more concerned with smoking pot.

Every foreign threat was magnified. The Syrian missiles in the Bek'a Valley caused anxiety. Arabs were winning the arms race. The ratio of fire-power had deteriorated from 1:3 to a dismaying 1:5.

Skills were at a discount. It didn't matter if the Syrian military were less competent than the Israeli. All they had to do was press a button, technology would do the rest.

These considerations reduced Israel's power in the international arena. Thatcher and her European colleagues (who signed the notorious Venice declaration), increased their pressure. The Arabs could not be expected to compromise, the Jews must do all the yielding.

The pull-out in Sinai did not help; nor did the increase in *per capita* Israel was past her peak and dependent on Western protection, it was held. Despite Begin's blustering, his government would, in the end, have to do what it was told.

The Peace in Galilee campaign has changed all that. The tarnished prestige of Israel's arms is restored. The illusion of Arab power is destroyed. Technology plus skills has proved greatly superior to technology alone. The new generation of Israelis is equal to its predecessors in every respect. The country's demands for defensible borders must now command greater attention than before.

THE BRITISH are taken by surprise each time the embers of the Arab-Jewish conflict burst into flames. They should, by now, be

asking themselves why this happens. The explanation is at hand: the same British keep telling us of the existence of a dilemma. The clue to the riddle lies there, in that dilemma, if only the British could decipher its meaning.

The dilemma explained regularly by the British media, has been presented to me more than once by newsmen and diplomats. It is a standard dialogue that goes like this:

They: "You have to withdraw from the 1949 borders, you have no option."

Me: "But if we do we shall be vulnerable to Arab attack."

They: "If you don't you'll never secure peace."

Me: "What use is a peace that leaves us exposed?"

They: "But if you don't make peace you face a situation of perpetual conflict, in which your chances of survival will steadily erode."

THERE IT IS: either you commit suicide by withdrawing, or you commit suicide by not withdrawing. Our well-wishers offer an international guarantee of Israel's reduced frontiers.

The attitude of the British boils down to this: the Jews could always be relied on in the past to accept their fate philosophically. Why don't the Jews of Israel do the same? They should obediently withdraw to indefensible borders, and wait there patiently until the Arabs patch up their quarrels with each other.

The Arabs may subsequently concentrate their combined fire-power, said to be already in excess of

THE GOALS and limitations of the Lebanese campaign were in effect decided by two men. But in fairness, this was twice the number of political leaders who decided Israel's involvement in the 1956 Sinai Campaign alongside Ben-Gurion and France.

Ben-Gurion, on finding that he had a Moshe Sharett who had the guts and political clout to stand up to him in the cabinet, took the trouble of eliminating Sharett before he embarked on the Sinai Campaign.

Similarly, many aspects of the 1948 War of Independence and of the 1967 Six Day War were decided in extremely limited forums. The Jordanian attack on Jerusalem could, hypothetically, have been turned back without conquering the entire West Bank in 1967; and the then-minister of defence, Moshe Dayan's reluctance to take on the Syrians on the Golan was finally overcome by the decision of only two or three ministers.

In 1948, the full cabinet outlawed Ben-Gurion on the possibility of pushing on to the conquest of the entire West Bank, but most of the war strategy prior to that had been conducted by Ben-Gurion, playing his cards very close to his chest and with a minimum of consultation with other political leaders.

ARIEL SHARON is absolutely right in insisting that the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee should not have been informed from day to day of impending military moves. That is true as a matter of general principle, but even more so in view of the irresponsible garrulosity of some of the *yankees* who populate that prestigious committee.

Strategy in wartime, its goals and limits, are determined, whether we like it or not, by the men who control the armed forces and their political overlords, not by parliamentary committees and certainly not by oppositions. These come into their own if and when these strategies and aims prove to have failed. But why should any Israeli hope for such failure?

The Alignment critics should direct their criticism mainly at themselves for losing the last election.

That is what guaranteed that Menachem Begin and Ariel Sharon would be the ones to decide the aims and limits of the Lebanese operation.

And if Mapam MK and parliamentarian Major Imri Ron is right, which I think he is, the Alignment's penchant for permitting some of its members to engage in wholesale criticism of the army while the fighting is still going on may well be an indication that its suicidal tendencies are still very much with it.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

NATO's, on destroying the Jewish state. And then again, maybe they won't. Anyway, that is a problem for the future, why should it preoccupy us now?

Israel desires a settlement with the Arabs on acceptable terms. A treaty has been signed with the Egyptians, Israel wants one with the others as well. If they do not want peace, if they prefer a situation of perpetual war, then they cannot expect Israel to wait for a time of attack convenient to the Arab commanders.

If there is to be peace it will benefit both sides. If the enemy prefers war, Israel should not be blamed for seeing to it that both sides are inconvenienced, not just the Jewish side. Israel does not have to accept passively the continuous terrorist attacks and the shelling of her settlements.

Israel is not obliged to remain quiet while an armed force, devoted solely to its destruction, is provided with accommodation in a neighbouring country, and allowed to build up its military installations there. Israel does not have to sit back and wait while 25,000 tons of military hardware is poured into those installations.

A British commentator, Lawrence Friedman, interviewed on the BBC on Friday, attributed the reverses suffered by the PLO to the fact that their preparations and training were not complete. The Israelis do not propose to wait until they are complete.

Israel's message to the Arabs is, let us settle our differences. Sit down with us and negotiate. You don't have to accept our terms, but stop treating us like pariahs, who are not to be spoken to. We are entitled to bargain with you, to seek agreement.

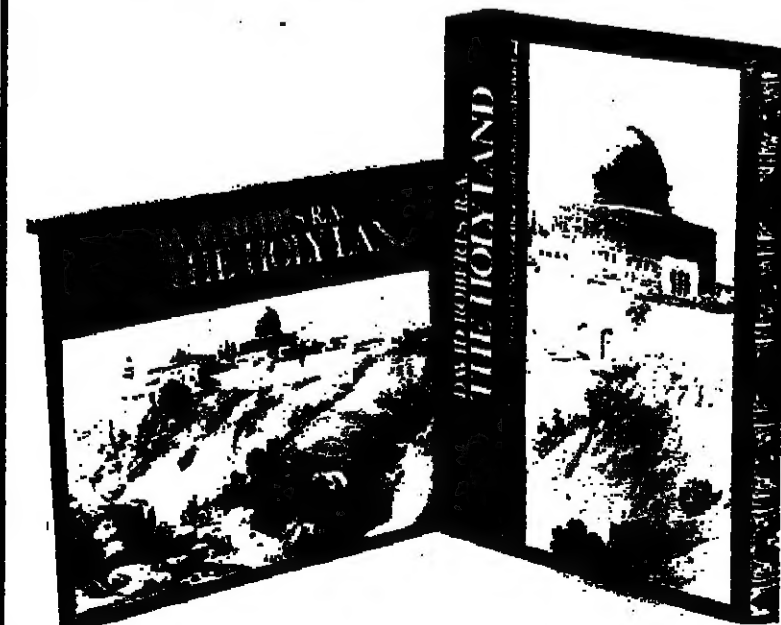
If you are prepared to search for peace, we shall search with you. But if it's war you want, we shall take whatever measures are necessary to protect our interests — even if these initiatives make Margaret Thatcher cross.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

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THE UNSTOPPABLE ARIK

PUBLIC FACES/Mark Segal



Above, from left: Simcha Ehrlich, Menachem Hachover, Dov Shilansky. (Israel Sun, Rahmani)



Above, from left: In uniform...Mordechai Gur, Shlomo Lahat, George C. Scott as Patton. (Army Spokesman, IFFA)

A WORD TO THE WISE. Get ready for elections — and soon. My Herut sources expect Prime Minister Menachem Begin to call the nation to the polls as quickly as possible, to take advantage of the political momentum created by the war, and before the full impact of new financial measures is felt.

I've been told that Begin has asked his Herut and Likud colleagues to apply all possible pressure on the NRP, particularly Interior Minister Dr. Yosef Burg and Education Minister Zevulun Hammer, to get them to drop their opposition to November elections.

My sources also have it that the Likud has already coined its campaign slogan — "We are the party that knows how to make both peace and war."

WITH FRIENDS LIKE THAT DEPT. The friendship between Begin and his deputy premier, "Reb Simcha Ehrlich," is well known. But some people in Jerusalem this week were wondering whether it could survive Ehrlich's current tenure as acting premier, while Begin is in the U.S. to address the UN and meet President Ronald Reagan.

The problem, of course, is that "Reb Menachem" has left "Reb Simcha" at home, with the difficult task of riding herd on Defence Minister Arik Sharon. That job should not be made any easier by the fact that Ehrlich abstained in the fateful Saturday night cabinet vote which launched Operation Peace for Galilee.

IN THE MEANTIME, dissent in the cabinet seems to have dissolved. Ministers Mordechai Zupor (Communications), Yitzhak Ben-Zur (Energy), and Hammer, all of whom tried to pull in the reins on the Unstoppable Arik during the first week of the war, now appear to have given up. Their only consolation may come from the comment of one minister, who was asked why Sharon was getting his own way. His reply: "If Arik had his way, he'd be on the road to Karachi by now."

EVEN BEGIN has had several run-ins with the man he once called "mon general." It has been reported that the premier and the defence minister disagreed over the former's

idea of a "Pax Americana" in Lebanon. But it is not widely known that the two men disagreed over the presence of U.S. troops in Lebanon, as a part of a non-UN international peace-keeping force. Sharon, we've been told, was very adamant about not wanting GIs in Beirut.

That whole question now appears to be moot, with indications that the U.S. does not relish a role in the Lebanese watchdog force. And that is probably one of the very few issues on which our Arik and his Washington counterpart, Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger, see eye to eye.

SOME HINTS of the friction came out in Begin's Tuesday night interview on the *Mabar* TV news programme, particularly his patronizing reference to Sharon as "an excellent craftsman." The Premier also appeared to enjoy his own joke, when he reminded interviewers Elimelech Ram and Ya'acov Achiamer — and the whole country — how Sharon was dubbed "Arik King of Israel" after the Yom Kippur War.

PEOPLE WHO should know say that Begin is sizzling over references to him as "Arik's first prisoner of war," or "the prisoner of Jerusalem," the latter a clear allusion to the way Richard Crossman depicted Chaim Weizmann's relationship with David Ben-Gurion.

EVERYONE seems to have his favourite Arik Sharon war story. One of the best is that photos of a helmeted Sharon at Beirut this week look like nothing as much as George C. Scott playing Gen. George Patton in the well-known Sixties movie.

My favourite comes from *An Nahar*, the Beirut newspaper, reporting Sharon's arrival in the offices of Col. Rafik el-Hassan, commander of the Lebanese Gendarmier. After being reassured that "we have come to liberate you from the Palestinians and the

Syrians," the colonel reportedly was asked to vacate his offices for Sharon's use. He moved to the presidential palace of President Elias Sarkis.

LAUGHING LAST. In addition to supervising IDF action on the Tyre-Beirut, central and Bekaa axes these past two weeks, Sharon was

also active on another combat front. We're referring, of course, to the continuing saga of the Wars of the Generals.

The major casualty in that battle was former chief-of-staff Motta Gur, Sharon's old rival from his days in Unit 101. Turning down Gur's request to return to the army in a responsible wartime position,

Arik gleefully cited a law "forbidding MKs from accepting an emergency army appointment unless they give up their parliamentary seats." Sharon also took the opportunity to remind the Labour Party that the law had been enacted in the post-Yom Kippur War period, specifically to block him getting such an appointment.

PROTECTED FLANK. But the IDF old boys' network still works, sometimes. Take the case of Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo (Chich) Lahat, a former officer himself, refusing to allow Sheli ex-MK Meir Pa'il to post some anti-Sharon placards around Tel Aviv. The highly uncomplimentary to Arik artwork was by Yigal Tumarkin.

RAFUL'S SALVO. During a Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee tour of the front this week, Chief-of-Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan bluntly told Labour's Yossi Sarid and the Likud's Ehud Olmert: "You're wrong in 90 per cent of your facts." That brought the panel's chairman, Elhan Ben-Eliassar, to his colleagues' defence. He told Rafal: "Please don't hand out grades to committee members."

RETURN OF FIRE. Deputy Minister Dov Shilansky's letter to all MKs, urging them to still criticism in order to "increase national unity during these days of glory," drew a quick response from Labour's Menachem Hachover. Replied the rabbi-MK: "To me, these sad times are not days of glory. Do you really mean that we should keep silent while we are being misled about the aims of the military operation? Can we possibly stand silent in the face of uncontrolled bombing of civilians?"

IT'S A LONG WAY from the Petah Tikva ma'abara, in the 1950s, to the U.S. Congress in 1982. That long journey has been made by one of our best-known photographers, Faraj Peri, owner of the Faraj Picture Palace at the corner of Dizengoff and Arlosoroff in Tel Aviv. Peri took his photography exhibit, "Shalom Sinai. Road to Peace" to the rotunda of the U.S. Capitol. His hosts were U.S. Reps. Les Aspin of Oregon, Jim Coyne of Pennsylvania, Jonathan Bingham of New York and Edward Derwinski of Illinois. Not bad for a boy from Petah Tikva. The exhibition now moves to the Senate building.

AGUDAT ISRAEL'S single representative on the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee (on the Likud quota), Shmuel Halper has refused his faction colleagues' telephone calls that he break off a U.S. visit to return for committee meetings, so he can keep them informed on war news. He took his wife to America for the wedding of the grandson of the Vizhnitz Rebbe in Brooklyn, and refused to interrupt his first visit to the "Goldene Medina," even for a war.

RUSH HOME. Mrs. Ofra Navon cut short her attendance at the UNICEF conference in Sofia, where she and her plan for setting up cities of refuge for children were warmly received. She came home just in time to join her husband, President Yitzhak Navon on his visit to the wounded at the Hadassah Medical Center in Ein Shalek and the Sheba Medical Center at Tel Hashomer. She distributed to the wounded soldiers' get-well letters from the classmates of her children, Na'ama and Eyal.

DUE SOON. Entertainers Shmuel Lawrence and Bydla Gorme, aged 34 and 32, and fashion's Vidal Sassoon are among the 85 members of "solidarity caravan" of American Friends of the Hebrew University due here early next week. Where, here, the group will attend dedication of the Nancy Reagan Plaza at the HU's Mount Scopus campus.

FROM battlefield to bridal suite was the route taken by Barak Shaked, who is serving in Lebanon and this week received a two-week leave for his wedding. In Jerusalem Plaza manager Eyal Martens heard about the wedding of Barak and his bride, Illana, the hotel's honeymoon suite as well as dinner in the hotel's Sky on the Roof restaurant.

OPENING HIS Wednesday morning programme on Galei Zahal, Yitzhak Ben-Zur announced that he was searching for the "only IDF soldier who has not been interviewed by newsmen, or has at least seen regards from the front on the radio." After a short pause, he announced the result of his quest — "there is none."

Lover of the land



Yekutiel Adam

HE WAS a man who would stop his vehicle on a busy road to remove a jumbling tortoise, or a scolding chicken in safety. Kutu liked tortoises, he said, they reminded him of tank commanders. "What they lack in speed they make up for in determination." Of chameleons, he would say wondrously: "They've been around since before the dinosaurs died out. That's what I call persistence."

Thousands mourn the loss of Ahuf Yekutiel Adam, soldier and commander. For others, his military career was only one part of his rich personality. No less well developed was Kutu, the lover of nature, of wildlife, and of archeological artefacts.

Wherever he served, Kutu kept in close touch with those whose job it was to protect these valuable national assets. An unpaid policeman, he reported every violation of the Nature Protection Law and all offences involving Israel's antiquities.

Kutu was not one of those rapacious amateur archeologists who feel that everything they see should be taken home. For him, it was enough to know that it was there. He would often carry a small shard of pottery or a stone in his pocket for days, touching it and remembering where he found it, and the history behind it.

An expert in his own field, he admired and respected the expertise of others. He knew how to listen. He would ask about some aspect of nature, then sit quietly, absorbing the explanation. He always seemed to know just which question to ask, so that a non-communicative specialist would start talking.

KUTU'S POSITION as protector of Israel's wildlife was well known. On one occasion, a young officer who served under him was leading a desert foot-patrol when a leopard suddenly appeared on the path ahead. Signalling to the column to stop, the officer waited until the leopard had passed. When asked if he was frightened, the officer retorted, "Sure I was. But I was even more afraid of what Kutu would do if I hurt the leopard."

Kutu Adam's knowledge of botany, wildlife and archeology was encyclopedic. Many a naturalist stood open-mouthed at the speed with which Kutu could identify a bird of prey in flight, or recall the exact name of some minor plant along the way.

His patriotism and his love of the land and all that was in it went hand in hand. Once, on Tel Hazor, someone commented on the architecture of the buildings of that ancient city. Kutu, with an almost embarrassed grin, said, "I wasn't looking at that. I was thinking of the people who were once here, of how they lived and how they died."

With the untimely death of Yekutiel Adam, the defence establishment has lost one of its most valuable and cherished leaders. The land of Israel has lost a true lover.

D'YORA BEN-SHAUL

The task facing American Jews

By ELMER WINTER

AMERICAN JEWS, have their work cut out for them. They need to place Israel's incursion into Lebanon, and the resulting new opportunities, into proper perspective, and not be deterred by editorial writers who criticize Israel for overkill, expansionism, arrogance, etc.

On the contrary, they need to call for new and creative moves to help bring peace to the Middle East and assure the security of Israel — all of which is to the best interest of the U.S., as well.

Let me suggest the following course of action:

□ Stressing that self-defence is a crucial responsibility of every sovereign nation. Israel's decision to push the PLO back from the Israeli-Lebanese border came after 11 months of escalating terrorist attacks against its northern towns and villages, and only after overwhelming evidence that the UN forces, which were supposed to maintain the cease-fire and prevent such incursions, were unable to do so. Israel exercised its "inherent right to self-defence" under Article 51 of the UN Charter when it moved into Lebanon.

Jean Kirkpatrick, U.S. Ambassador to the UN stated: "If it is true...that the PLO has been sheltering Israel heavily from emplacements in Lebanon, then it would not be unreasonable for Israel to seek to exercise its rights under Article 51 of the UN Charter."

It must continuously be stressed that the PLO has launched over 150 terrorist assaults against Israelis in Israel and abroad, killing 25 and wounding hundreds of men, women and children. The attempt on the life of Israel's ambassador to Great Britain was the last straw. The Israeli Government instructed its armies to push the PLO back to where its shells and mortar fire could no longer reach the towns and villages of Northern Galilee.

□ Emphatically pointing out that Israel's objective in the current offensive was to secure its safety — not obtain territorial gains. Prime

Minister Begin has stated, "We do not covet one inch of Lebanese territory. We wish to sign a peace treaty with a free, independent Lebanon that will preserve its territorial integrity."

□ The United States should use its good offices to bring about a restoration of a legitimate government in Lebanon. It must be made clear that it is in the interest of the U.S. and Israel that from this conflict Lebanon should emerge free of the PLO and Syria — a Lebanon governed solely by Lebanese Christians and Moslems. The PLO and Syrian forces that have occupied Lebanon have destroyed a once-peaceful nation. As a result, Lebanon has been unable to govern or control violence within its boundaries.

A statement by Secretary of State Haig on May 26 should be supported. He said: "The time has come to take concerted action in support of Lebanon's territorial integrity within its internationally recognized boundaries and (of) a strong central government capable of promoting a free, open democratic and traditionally pluralistic society."

□ We should call on the U.S. to keep its commitments to sell 75 F-16 jet-fighters to Israel. The arming of the Arab countries by the U.S., France, Russia, etc., makes it imperative that Israel have access to these 75 planes.

□ America is committed to providing a qualitative and quantitative edge to Israel. It is in the interest of the U.S. and Israel that this commitment be kept. We must call on President Reagan to meet his past commitment: "Nothing will be done to jeopardize Israel's security."

□ We must work for congressional support of Israel's requests for loans and grants. Israel needs additional financial assistance from the U.S. Fortunately, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has approved an increase of \$425m. in military and economic aid for Israel in 1983,

bringing the total aid package to \$2.6b. In view of Israel's increasing financial crunch, we must work for the passage of this programme by Congress.

□ Support Senator Cranston's effort to establish the principle that American economic assistance to Israel should not be less than the amount of the debt Israel repays to the U.S. (estimated to be \$910m. in 1983). Cranston's statement bears repetition: "It is imperative that we help alleviate Israel's economic burden, since it is to our interest to have an economically and militarily strong Israel, as our foremost ally in the region."

□ The Memorandum of Understanding signed by the U.S. and Israel on November 21, 1981, should be reinstated. It provided for economic cooperation between the U.S. and Israel. Within a month of its signing, the memorandum was suspended. It is time to reinstate it.

Senator Robert Kasten, chairman of the Senate Foreign Operations Sub-committee, recently put the Memorandum of Understanding into focus when he stated, "There is no longer any need to continue the suspension of the MOU. The lifting of the suspension will benefit both Israel and the U.S."

□ Resist the proposed sale of sophisticated military equipment to Jordan. The proposed sale by the U.S. of F-15's, stinger missiles, laser-guided F-16's and mobile Hawk missiles to Jordan would seriously impair the security of Israel. Jordan has rejected the Camp David process and is technically at war with Israel. We cannot allow the proposed sale to become another AWAC defeat.

□ Resist any UN action to impose sanctions against Israel. Congress has wisely gone on record warning the UN that if the General Assembly or any UN agency expels Israel, or denies its right to participate in any matter, the U.S. will

suspend its participation in that body and withhold all funds for it. We need to make certain that this action by the U.S. Congress is irrevocable. We cannot permit the UN to delegitimize the State of Israel or to characterize Israel as intransigent in pursuing peace.

□ We cannot let America forget Israel's sacrifices in the Sinai. It is easy to forget the past and adopt a "what have you done for me lately" attitude. America should be reminded that Israel carried out every commitment made under the Camp David accords at the risk of impairing its security and losing investment worth more than \$12b., and \$5b. in defence facilities. The Sinai withdrawal should be ample evidence of Israel's commitment to

peace with a willing partner. American Jewry must present Israel's concerns in various arenas as efforts are made to bring about unified Lebanon, a security zone for Israel and withdrawal of Israel's forces from Lebanon.

America must not deviate from its past assurances to Israel under pressure from allies — many of whom have recognized the PLO. World leaders would do well to heed the statement of Senator Richard Byrd: "We must, especially at this time, make sure that the world understands that Israel is our friend, that we are their friend and that our commitment, which was made several years ago, is as firm today as it was when it was first made."

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YISRAEL SACHAROV
Chair of the Public Committee
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OPERATION HOME-FRONT

Text: ESTHER HECHT. Pictures: ALIZA AUERBACH

A TOUCH of sweetness in the jungle of war is how one child put it — the massive operation on the home-front to provide soldiers with basic amenities and a few luxuries. Fuelled by spontaneous donations of money, goods and hard work, the volunteer effort has been directed by the Association for the Welfare of Soldiers in Israel (Va'ad Lema'an Hahayal).

On Sunday, June 6, even before Operation Peace for Galilee was officially announced, the association appealed through the schools for "gifts for soldiers," and provided a list of needed items. By Monday, cartons and sacks of goods were pouring in.

That day radio broadcasts began soliciting contributions from the population at large. The response was overwhelming: mountains of gifts piled up in association centres. They came from collection points in shops and schools, from kibbutzim, moshavim and private businesses, and from a constant stream of individuals who delivered their donations in person.

Using expertise gained from sweetening the soldier's lot on a year-round basis and from the campaigns of previous wars, the association acted with almost military efficiency and organized what might otherwise have been a chaotic and ineffective outpouring for the men in uniform.

Manpower was needed to sort and repack goods to ensure equitable distribution. The call for volunteers went out through newspapers and radio stations. Again the response was astounding.

The outpouring of support seemed to be independent of partisan politics or opinions on the military operation. The response was to the sons, the fathers and the brothers of the nation, who make up

the IDF, and concern for their welfare was echoed in the thousands of messages from children: "Come home safely." "Please don't get killed." "I pray that you return alive and well to your family."

ON THE eighth day of the home-front operation, its forces at the Soldiers' Home in Jerusalem seemed, at first sight, to be a scene of total confusion. Like bees, some 20 youngsters buzz around overflowing cartons. Items are taken out of some boxes and tossed into others.

Ilana, a 19-year-old soldier who was assigned during her compulsory service to the association and was in charge of sorting, explained the underlying method to the seeming madness. Items are sorted into a number of categories: cookies; pretzels and other salty snack foods; wafers; seeds and nuts; candy; gum; cigarettes; matches; soap and toiletries; underwear and towels; and letters.

Large boxes of cookies, pretzels or wafers are opened and poured into appropriate containers for repackaging in small quantities. Perishable or delicate items, such as chocolate, and finer toiletries are set aside for wounded soldiers, as are transistor radios.

The working youngsters, it turns out, are a class of emotionally disturbed seventh- and eighth graders from the Even Sapir school. One of the most challenging tasks the association has had during the current campaign has been to find something to do for all those who volunteer.

The teacher of this class says that despite their motivation, they need to be closely supervised. Watching them for a while, makes it clear that enthusiasm has turned them into dedicated and competent workers.

Cartons of sorted items go to the packing room, where a remarkably efficient assembly line of young and old work side by side. The youngsters are from the Seligsberg and Denmark high schools. Into individual bags go cigarettes, matches and some of each of the various edibles.

Near the end of the line stands Dr. Haim Shmerl, 77, who has been assigned the task of putting into envelopes "the letters to soldiers from schoolchildren. A letter goes into each bag. Twenty-five bags, enough for every member of a unit, are then packed in a large sack, ready for delivery, along with a carton of soap and other toiletries, and underwear.

Perhaps even more impressive than the efficiency of the packing is the speed of the delivery. Loaded trucks leave daily, reaching even the most forward units in Lebanon within 24 hours.

THE EXCITEMENT and dedication of the people involved in the operation is palpable. Pina Poni, mother of seven grown children and grandmother of three, who only recently has found time to study two days a week — learning to read and write — works daily from morning

till night, packing, supervising, cleaning, "anything they need me to do." She has convinced some of her classmates to come along to help.

Adina Blumenthal, a part grandmother who operates a beauty salon and stays young by folkdancing, read about the association's operation in *The Jerusalem Post*. She, too has been packing four hours daily, after a full day's work.

Working next to her is Sima Boneli, a seventh grader who responded to a radio appeal and who puts in four hours a day.

In the lobby, a young man was clearing away the debris from the sorting. Baruch Fetman, who mans the front desk at the Soldiers' Home, says the fellow is a crippled veteran who has been working untiringly since the campaign began. Another showed up with his van on the first day, and since then has hauled and delivered parcels on a full-time basis.

There are hitches. A teacher who brought her class to deliver their collection for the soldiers stays after the children leave, to search through their sacks. In their eagerness the children had put into one sack an entire set of exams and in another a new pair of shoes belonging to the teacher.

Children have taken into account virtually all the foreseeable needs of the soldiers. Left the armoured division lack tanks, the children in Miriam's kindergarten in Givat Mordechai constructed tanks from

egg cartons and toilet paper rolls, painted them olive drab and provided them with convincing cannons.

Children in another kindergarten constructed a giant cardboard tank and filled it with sweets. A practical first-grader contributed two tissues, tied with a ribbon and accompanied by a message: "Dear soldier, if your nose runs, use these. From Yosi."

Drawings from kindergarteners, each with a message, and letters from older children are singularly lacking in any sign of hatred or aggressiveness. The soldiers are exhorted to be "brave" and, most of all, to come home safely.

1541 Azulai from the Luria elementary school wrote: "I pray that peace will come quickly, and that no more soldiers will fall in battle; and that mothers will stop weeping and just care for their children with joy and without worry."

Another letter appeals to the soldier to "keep Lebanon beautiful."

THE NEXT DAY there is a line of boys outside the Soldier's Home, each carrying an identical large box. These turn out to be battery-operated, portable television sets. Effi Hellerstein, one of the association's administrators, explains that some donations were used to purchase 150 sets, so that soldiers at the front will not miss the World Cup games.

A young man walks in, lugging an

enormous and obviously heavy box. The woman with him announces that the workers at the Jerusalem Customs House have pitched in to buy a new television set for the soldiers.

Inside the building, there is relative quiet, none of the buzz of the previous day. A few youngsters wander about. Every few minutes, youngsters ask at the desk if they can volunteer to do something, anything.

Baruch answers them courteously, but briefly: "There doesn't seem to be anything for you to do; very little is coming in."

Indeed the stream of people bringing parcels and money is steady but a trickle compared to the torrent of the previous week. How can a dozen parcels compare with the 500 watermelons, hundreds of pitas filled with houmous, and scores of crates of first-quality fruit that the vendors of Mahane Yehuda market brought in on Friday afternoon?

What has happened? Effi Hellerstein offers a number of explanations. "First, the fighting is on the wane. Also, many of the people who wanted to contribute have already done so. Some families have started sending individual parcels to relatives at the front. And finally, the new taxes and price rises are probably also having an effect."

Despite the decline in activity, Effi cannot help but look back in satisfaction. Donations of money have totalled hundreds of thousands of shekels. Bnei Akiva youth have raised several hundred thousand shekels through door-to-door sales

of association lottery tickets. Especially gratifying has been the response from those least able to give. Like the old man in tattered clothes who came to the association office last week and untied a handkerchief holding a collection of coins, perhaps his entire fortune. "All of this is for the soldiers," he said.

ON THE second day of the Peace for Galilee Operation, an officer came to Effi with tears in his eyes. He had been called up, but his wife had just undergone an operation and was bedridden. There was no one to help care for their 11-month-old baby and other children. He did not want to use this as an excuse not to go, but he did not know what to do. Effi appealed to Na'amat, and the same day a woman arrived in the officer's home to help care for the children. A phone call to the Plaza Hotel produced an enormous basket of fruit for the family.

Effi notes that the Va'ad Lema'an Hahayal looks after the welfare of soldiers in peace, as well as in war, and that their long-term volunteer effort is of equal importance during times of battle. There are needs. For example, the Jerusalem Soldiers' Home, which is both a hostel and a recreation centre, has no cold-water drinking fountain; the only water to be had is from the taps in the rest rooms.

Good intentions can take many forms. A bridal salon has offered that any soldier who comes in within the next six months with a letter testifying that he participated in Operation Peace for Galilee will receive the complete service of the salon for his bride free of charge.

Much can still be done to sweeten the coming days and weeks for our soldiers at the front.

Jim

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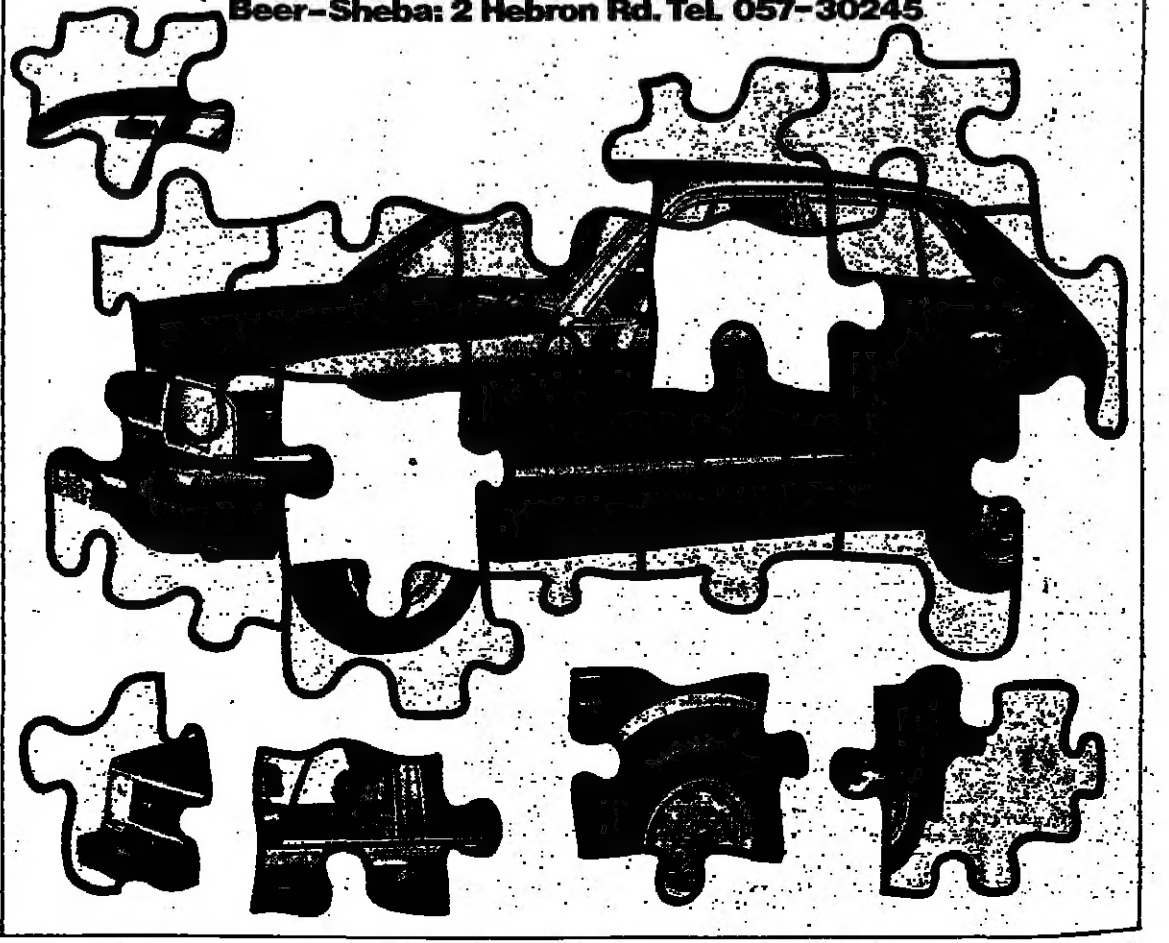
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Diaspora moves to help pay for Lebanese campaign

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Diaspora fund-raising organizations are prepared to temporarily finance various educational, health and welfare services — to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars — instead of the state, to relieve the burden resulting from Operation Peace for Galilee.

Avraham Avi-hai, world chairman of Keren Hayesod-United Israel Appeal, announced at a Jerusalem press conference yesterday that fund-raisers will meet here next week to discuss how much they can raise over and above their regular campaigns. The Jewish Agency will decide with the Treasury on what services should be financed and for how many months the Diaspora funding need go on.

In New York, 1,800 Jewish leaders will deliver cheques to Prime Minister Menachem Begin today at a State of Israel Bonds luncheon which will kick off a campaign to sell \$100 million worth of bonds in the coming months.

"It is expected that this will be the single biggest Israel Bond cash day since the Yom Kippur War," said Sam Rothberg, chairman of the bond organization.

Avi-hai, whose organization collects money for Israel in dozens of countries but not the U.S.,

emphasized that none of the Diaspora contributions may be used directly for defence needs. The assistance in education, welfare and health services, he explained, will help the state to deal with its short-fall, estimated by Finance Minister Yoram Aridor to be at least \$300 million.

Labour Party chairman MK Shimon Peres yesterday issued a statement supporting Aridor's appeal to the Diaspora to donate to an emergency campaign in view of the operation in Lebanon.

"Several tens of millions of dollars" have already come in to emergency campaigns of Keren Hayesod since the war started. Such campaigns have begun in all Latin American countries and most European ones, Avi-hai said.

Although he hadn't heard of specific cases, Avi-hai said there may be some Jews who decline to donate because they are appalled by the suffering of the Lebanese civilian population.

Keren Hayesod, as well as its U.S. partner the United Jewish Appeal, swung into action immediately after the war broke out to contact Jewish communities around the world by telephone conference calls and telex. Within two hours, he said, all were informed about the Israeli view of the operation into Lebanon.

HAIG-BEGIN

(Continued from page one)

cluding those of Syria. Washington is trying to strengthen the UN peace-keeping presence in Lebanon and will vote for an extension of the UNIFIL mandate at the Security Council today. The mandate expires Saturday.

The U.S. strategy in easing the crisis, according to U.S. sources, also focuses on strengthening the central Lebanese government under President Elias Sarkis. What Washington would like to negotiate, they said, would be a statement by the Lebanese government inviting the withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon.

Presumably, a stronger UNIFIL and a more determined central

Lebanese army would fill the vacuum left by the Syrian departure. At the same time, the Lebanese government would ask Israeli forces to leave.

But the major stumbling block remains the future of the PLO forces in West Beirut and the question of what, exactly, should be done with them.

Publicly, the State Department has suggested that they could be allowed to remain in the country provided that they are "subversive" to the central Lebanese authority. But the exact Israeli position on the future of the PLO in Beirut, U.S. officials said, is still unclear. That can be expected to be discussed in detail during the Haig-Begin session.

IDF SHELLING

(Continued from page one)

morning, Palestinian sources said. The same sources reported new fighting near the Druse-Moslem stronghold of Aley.

The town is on the main Beirut-Damascus highway and the Palestinians said that their forces repelled the attacking Israelis after two-and-a-half hours of intense fighting.

The PLO news agency, Wafa, said that the Israelis attacked from the nearby villages of Keyfoun,

Shemlan and Souk al-Gharb. But the fighting was on a much reduced level and the political efforts to resolve the crisis were in the forefront.

Meanwhile, PLO chief Yasser Arafat sent a letter to UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar informing him that 80,000 people had been killed and wounded in the war. Ten thousand were missing and 800,000 were homeless, Arafat's letter said.

European assembly rejects sanctions

STRASBOURG (JTA). — The Parliament of Europe yesterday rejected by 106 votes to 90 a resolution calling for economic sanctions against Israel.

The resolution, sponsored by Socialist, Communist and radical deputies, was defeated by a coalition of conservative and Christian Democratic parties.

One leader of the Christian Democratic Union, Kai Uwe von Hasel, stressed that even before Israel's invasion, Lebanon "was the victim of the Syrian and Palestinian forces."

The assembly adopted a conservative resolution calling for all "foreign forces" to leave Lebanon. The resolution condemns Israel's invasion, but also raps terrorist attacks carried out against Israeli territory.

Another European parliamentary assembly, the Parliamentary Union of Western Europe, condemned "Israel's aggression against Lebanon" at its regular session in Paris yesterday.

The Parliamentary Union con-

sists of the representatives of all political parties of seven West European states: Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, Holland and West Germany.

Bank of Israel rates of exchange

	June 17, 1982	IS
U.S. dollar	23.4300	
British sterling	40.9556	
German mark		
French franc	3.4550	
Dutch guilder	8.6834	
Swiss franc	11.1148	
Swedish krona	3.8667	
Norwegian krone	3.7626	
Danish krone	2.7111	
Finnish mark	4.9714	
Canadian dollar	18.2520	
Australian dollar	24.0614	
South African rand	20.8539	
Belgian franc (10)	4.9947	
Austrian schilling (10)	13.5980	
Italian lire (100)	1.7045	
Japanese yen (100)	9.2054	
Jordanian dinar	66.31	
Lebanese lira	4.42	

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DOLLAR PAZ AND EURO PAZ PRICES FOR 17.6.82			
CURRENCY BASKET	PURCHASE	SALE	
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"EURO PAZ" 1 UNIT	94.3899	95.1598	
S.D.R.	25.3346	25.7912	

FOREIGN CURRENCY EXCHANGE RATES FOR 17.6.82			
COUNTRY	CURRENCY	CHEQUES AND TRANSACTIONS	BANKNOTES
		PURCHASE SALE	PURCHASE SALE
U.S.A.	DOLLAR	23.4329 23.5472	23.3000 23.6000
GBR	STERLING	40.7278 41.1399	40.3300 41.3400
FRG	MARK	3.4546 3.4649	3.4500 3.4600
FRN	FRANC	3.4539 3.4704	3.4500 3.4700
HOL	GULDEN	3.4646 3.4718	3.4500 3.4600
SWI	FRANC	11.0602 11.1918	10.9700 11.3000
SWD	KRONA	3.8498 3.8583	3.7600 3.8200
NOR	KRONA	3.7438 3.7514	3.7400 3.7500
DEN	KRONA	2.7593 2.7640	2.7400 2.7500
FIN	MARK	4.9438 4.9595	4.9300 4.9400
CAN	DOLLAR	18.1590 18.2885	17.8300 18.3200
AUS	DOLLAR	24.0615 24.1647	23.8300 24.0100
S.A.	RAND	20.8539 20.9795	20.5100 21.0100
BEL	FRANC	4.9707 4.9897	
AUS	SCHILLING	13.5422 13.6784	13.4200 13.8100
ITA	LIRE	16.9897 17.1594	16.0800 17.3900
JAP	YEN	91.7830 92.7066	90.8700 93.6200

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Money Matters

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN

TEL AVIV. — In a classic case of overreaction investors and speculators alike yesterday decided to "dump" some of their holdings. On a moderate trading volume of under IS428m, 14 securities were "sellers only," and automatically lowered by 5%. Another 82 shares were down by 5% or more. The Nikuv software company new issue debuted successfully, as both the ISI and ISS.0 stocks were up by more than 75% above their issue

95 shares down 5% or more

price. There was plenty of selling in the index-linked bond market, but the Bank of Israel came to the rescue and supported prices.

The shekel was devalued by 27 agorot against the dollar.

Commercial bank shares were mostly unchanged or slightly higher. Insurance issues were sharply lower with Phoenix 0.1, Sahar (R)

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

and Zur (R) all absorbing 10% losses.

The trend was for lower prices in the land development and real estate sector. Ten per cent losses were

registered by Israel Citrus Plantations and Pri Or.

Industrials were broadly lower, but there were indications of bargain hunting and some securities even came through with gains. The few winners included Shemen (+7.7%), Polgat 0.4 (+4.2%), Lodzia 0.1 (+5.0%), Fertilizers 0.1 (+7.0%), Cables (B) (+10%), and Haifa Chemicals (+6.1%).

On the other hand, there was no shortage of losers. Teva (B) was down by 5.3% while the 2 option was clobbered for a 13.1% loss. Tromasbest 1.0 was a 10% loser as was the case with the Nechushtan 0.1 and 0.5 shares. Cyclone 1.0 was down by 10.1%, while the option was nearly 13% lower. The drop in these shares certainly went contrary to the company's expectations that the backlog of orders for the refurbishing of helicopters would rise considerably and add to its profits.

	Closing price	Volume	Change	Change in %		Closing price	Volume	Change	Change in %	
Commercial Banks & Bankholding						Reinsurance 0.1 r				
IDB prf	28300	3	n.c.			1130	3.0	-80	-5.0	
IDB r	2126	2,012.0	+4	+2		425	40.4	-34	-7.4	
IDB pr A	6985	2.1	+4	+2		2242	8.0	-115	-5.0	
IDB pr B	5426	7.3	n.c.			Hadar 1.0	1850	-11	-1.3	
IDB pr 3	3300	7.3	n.c.			Hadar 5.0	1520	128.1	-120	
IDB pr 10	3250	18.3	n.c.			Hassneh r	1320	8.2	n.c.	
Union r	1408	107.7	—	—		Hassneh pr	2585	1.2	-305	
Union pr 3 r	—	—	—	—		Hassneh op	2088	282.5	-232	
Union pr 4	2440	2	n.c.			Phoenix 0.1 r	1780	9.0	-102	
Union pr 5	2010	23.5	-30	-1.5		Phoenix 0.5 r	1770	77.5	n.c.	
Discount r	3550	17.8	-20	-2		Yardenia 0.1 r	1727	23.4	n.c.	
Discount pr 1	2712	29.5	+3	+3		Yardenia 0.5 r	770	77.5	n.c.	
Discount pr 2	3830	17.8	-20	-2		Yardenia pr 1	530	48.1	+15	
Discount pr 3	2160	210.5	n.c.			Sahar r	36129	38.2	-348	
Mizrahi r	928	2,139.9	+5	+5		Sahar pr	4567	9.0	n.c.	
Mizrahi pr	828	63.1	+3	+5		Securita r	1135	108.5	n.c.	
Mizrahi pr 3	9440	1.0	n.c.			Securita pr 1	1720	12.5	-66	
Mizrahi pr 10	1430	12.7	-40	-2.7		Zur r	10389	10.2	-77	
Mizrahi pr 5	65850	4.7	-30	-1.0		Zur pr 1	103465	12.0	+55	
Mizrahi pr 7	6150	33.6	-3.0	-1.0		Zur pr 2	1150	17.2	-30	
Mizrahi pr 8	1980	629.7	+20	+1.0		Zur pr 3	455	134.0	-40	
Mizrahi pr 9	1250	30.2	n.c.			Zur pr 4	287	282.4	-30	
Mizrahi pr 11	1317	103.4	n.c.			Zur pr 5	1190	1.7	-30	
Mizrahi pr 12	3500	2.6	+80	+1.3		Zion Hold. 1.0	42	134.0	-40	
Mizrahi pr 13	1812	2,892.0	+4	+2		Zion Hold. 5.0	287	282.4	-30	
Mizrahi pr 14	1812	68.3	+4	+2		Commercial Services & Utilities				
Mizrahi pr 15	13100	1.1	n.c.			Delek r	2100	61.3	-130	
Mizrahi pr 16	10000	1.4	n.c.			Delek pr 1	2380	1.5	+30	
Mizrahi pr 17	6080	6.7	n.c.			Delek pr 2	9800	1.4	-60	
Mizrahi pr 18	2880	101.4	-30	-1.0		Harel op	397	411.3	+39	
Mizrahi pr 19	2540	50.1	-37	-1.4		Harel pr 1	670	32.1	n.c.	
Mizrahi pr 20	4020	1	n.c.			Hatehof 0.1 r	3000	1	-110	
Mizrahi pr 21	7703	1	n.c.			Hatehof 0.5 r	21000	5.1	n.c.	
General A	2798	128.2	n.c.			Hatehof 1.0	10285	1.3	n.c.	
General pr 1	5450	1.0	-20	-2		Hatehof 5.0	18870	1.0	n.c.	
General pr 2	3540	4.1	-30	-3		Hatehof 6.0	18000	5.8	n.c.	
General pr 3	818	22.1	-30	-3		Magor	858	55.8	-80	
Leumi r	1035	2,994.7	+3	+3		Magor 0.5	398	258.8	-30	
Leumi pr 1	5120	4.2	n.c.			Magor 1.0	615	61.5	-40	
Leumi pr 2	1750	72.5	-40	-2.2		Magor 5.0	1380	13.8	-78	
Leumi pr 3	6380	24.3	n.c.			Magor 6.0	1480	6.2	-72	
Leumi pr 11	6175	1,442.2	-1.0	-6		Magor 7.0	1800	4.2	-1	
OHV r	1875	15.5	n.c.			Magor 8.0	370	214.8	+28	
OHV pr	1880	5.5	+30	+1.6		Magor 9.0	415	87.0	-40	
Danot 1.0	350	103.9	-5	-2.2		Magor 10.0	1380	13.8	-78	
Danot pr 1	300	337.8	-5	-2.2		Magor 11.0	1480	6.2	-72	
Danot pr 2	270	120.3	-10	-3.8		Magor 12.0	1800	4.2	-1	
Danot pr 3	133.0	19.0	-3.0	-2.2		Magor 13.0	370	214.8	+28	
YFBI pr 1	4500	30.3	-10	-2.2		Magor 14.0	415	87.0	-40	
YFBI pr 2	774	362.9	n.c.			Magor 15.0	1380	13.8	-78	
YFBI pr 3	1400	13.8	-78	-5.4		Magor 16.0	1480	6.2	-72	
YFBI pr 4	1800	4.2	-1	-0.1		Magor 17.0	1800	4.2	-1	
YFBI pr 5	370	214.8	+28	+4.0		Magor 18.0	415	87.0	-40	
YFBI pr 6	415	87.0	-40	-11.5		Magor 19.0	1380	13.8	-78	
YFBI pr 7	1380	13.8	-78	-5.4		Magor 20.0	1480	6.2	-72	
YFBI pr 8	1480	6.2	-72	-5.3		Magor 21.0	1800	4.2	-1	
YFBI pr 9	1800	4.2	-1	-0.1		Magor 22.0	370	214.8	+28	
YFBI pr 10	370	214.8	+28	+4.0		Magor 23.0	415	87.0	-40	
YFBI pr 11	415	87.0	-40	-11.5		Magor 24.0	1380	13.8	-78	
YFBI pr 12	1380	13.8	-78	-5.4		Magor 25.0	1480	6.2	-72	
YFBI pr 13	1480	6.2	-72	-5.3		Magor 26.0	1800	4.2	-1	
YFBI pr 14	1800	4.2	-1	-0.1		Magor 27.0	370	214.8	+28	
YFBI pr 15	370	214.8	+28	+4.0		Magor 28.0	415	87.0	-40	
YFBI pr 16	415	87.0	-40	-11.5		Magor 29.0	1380	13.8	-78	
YFBI pr 17	1380	13.8	-78	-5.4		Magor 30.0	1480	6.2	-72	
YFBI pr 18	1480	6.2	-72	-5.3		Magor 31.0	1800	4.2	-1	
YFBI pr 19	1800	4.2	-1	-0.1		Magor 32.0	370	214.8	+28	
YFBI pr 20	370	214.8	+28	+4.0		Magor 33.0	415	87.0	-40	
YFBI pr 21	415	87.0	-40	-11.5		Magor 34.0	1380	13.8	-78	
YFBI pr 22	1380	13.8	-78	-5.4		Magor 35.0	1480	6.2	-72	
YFBI pr 23	1480	6.2	-72	-5.3		Magor 36.0	1800	4.2	-1	
YFBI pr 24	1800	4.2	-1	-0.1		Magor 37.0	370	214.8	+28	
YFBI pr 25	370	214.8	+28	+4.0		Magor 38.0	415	87.0	-40	
YFBI pr 26	415	87.0	-40	-11.5		Magor 39.0	1380	13.8	-78	
YFBI pr 27	1380	13.8	-78	-5.4		Magor 40.0	1480	6.2	-72	
YFBI pr 28	1480	6.2	-72	-5.3		Magor 41.0	1800	4.2	-1	
YFBI pr 29	1800	4.2	-1	-0.1		Magor 42.0	370	214.8	+28	
YFBI pr 30	370	214.8	+28	+4.0		Magor 43.0	415	87.0	-40	
YFBI pr 31	415	87.0	-40	-11.5		Magor 44.0	1380	13.8	-78	
YFBI pr 32	1380	13.8	-78	-5.4		Magor 45.0	1480	6.2	-72	
YFBI pr 33	1480	6.2	-72	-5.3		Magor 46.0	1800	4.2	-1	
YFBI pr 34	1800	4.2	-1	-0.1		Magor 47.0	370	214.8	+28	
YFBI pr 35	370	214.8	+28	+4.0		Magor 48.0	415	87.0	-40	
YFBI pr 36	415	87.0	-40	-11.5		Magor 49.0	1380	13.8	-78	
YFBI pr 37	1380	13.8	-78	-5.4		Magor 50.0	1480	6.2	-72	
YFBI pr 38	1480	6.2	-72	-5.3		Magor 51.0	1800	4.2	-1	
YFBI pr 39	1800	4.2	-1	-0.1		Magor 52.0	370	214.8	+28	
YFBI pr 40	370	214.8	+28	+4.0		Magor 53.0	415	87.0	-40	
YFBI pr 41	415	87.0	-40	-11.5		Magor 54.0	1380	13.8	-78	
YFBI pr 42	1380	13.8	-78	-5.4		Magor 55.0	1480	6.2	-72	
YFBI pr 43	1480	6.2	-72	-5.3		Magor 56.0	1800	4.2	-1	
YFBI pr 44	1800	4.2	-1	-0.1		Magor 57.0	370	214.8	+28	
YFBI pr 45	370	214.8	+28	+4.0		Magor 58.0	415	87.0	-40	
YFBI pr 46	415	87.0	-40	-11.5		Magor 59.0	1380	13.8	-78	
YFBI pr 47	1380	13.8	-78	-5.4		Magor 60.0	1480	6.2	-72	
YFBI pr 48	1480	6.2	-72	-5.3		Magor 61.0	1800	4.2	-1	
YFBI pr 49	1800	4.2	-1	-0.1		Magor 62.0	370	214.8	+28	
YFBI pr 50	370	214.8	+28	+4.0		Magor 63.0	415	87.0	-40	
YFBI pr 51	415	87.0	-40	-11.5		Magor 64.0	1380	13.8	-78	
YFBI pr 52	1380	13.8	-78	-5.4		Magor 65.0	1480	6.2	-72	
YFBI pr 53	1480	6.2	-72	-5.3		Magor 66.0	1800	4.2	-1	
YFBI pr 54	1800	4.2	-1	-0.1		Magor 67.0	370	214.8	+28	
YFBI pr 55	370	214.8	+28	+4.0		Magor 68.0	415	87.0	-40	
YFBI pr 56	415	87.0	-40	-11.5		Magor 69.0	1380	13.8	-78	
YFBI pr 57	1380	13.8	-78	-5.4		Magor 70.0	1480	6.2	-72	
YFBI pr 58	1480	6.2	-72	-5.3		Magor 71.0	1800	4.2	-1	
YFBI pr 59	1800	4.2	-1	-0.1		Magor 72.0	370	214.8	+28	
YFBI pr 60	370	214.8	+28	+4.0		Magor 73.0	415	87.0	-40	
YFBI pr 61	415	87.0	-40	-11.5		Magor 74.0	1380	13.8	-78	
YFBI pr 62	1380	13.8	-78	-5.4		Magor 75.0	1480	6.2	-72	
YFBI pr 63	1480	6.2	-72	-5.3		Magor 76.0	1800	4.2	-1	
YFBI pr 64	1800	4.2	-1	-0.1		Magor 77.0	370	214.8	+28	
YFBI pr 65	370	214.8	+28	+4.0		Magor 78.0	415	87.0	-40	
YFBI pr 66	415	87.0	-40	-11.5		Magor 79.0	1380	13.8	-78	
YFBI pr 67	1380	13.8	-78	-5.4		Magor 80.0	1480	6.2	-72	
YFBI pr 68	1480	6.2	-72	-5.3		Magor 81.0	1800	4.2	-1	
YFBI pr 69	1800	4.2	-1	-0.1		Magor 82.0	370	214.8	+28	
YFBI pr 70	370	214.8	+28	+4.0		Magor 83.0	415	87.0	-40	
YFBI pr 71	415	87.0	-40	-11.5		Magor 84.0	1380	13.8	-78	
YFBI pr 72	1380	13.8	-78	-5.4		Magor 85.0	1480	6.2	-72	
YFBI pr 73	1480	6.2	-72	-5.3		Magor 86.0	1800	4.2	-1	
YFBI pr 74	1800	4.2	-1	-0.1		Magor 87.0	370	214.8	+28	
YFBI pr 75	370	214.8	+28	+4.0		Magor 88.0	415	87.0	-40	
YFBI pr 76	415	87.0	-40	-11.5		Magor 89.0	1380	13.8	-78	
YFBI pr 77	1380	13.8	-78	-5.4		Magor 90.0	1480	6.2	-72	
YFBI pr 78	1480	6.2	-72	-5.3		Magor 91.0	1800	4.2	-1	
YFBI pr 79	1800	4.2	-1	-0.1		Magor 92.0	370	214.8	+28	
YFBI pr 80	370	214.8	+28	+4.0		Magor 93.0	415	87.0	-40	
YFBI pr 81	415	87.0	-40	-11.5		Magor 94.0	1380	13.8	-78	
YFBI pr 82	1380	13.8	-78	-5.4		Magor 95.0	1480	6.2	-72	
YFBI pr 83	1480	6.2	-72	-5.3		Magor 96.0	1800	4.2	-1	
YFBI pr 84	1800	4.2	-1	-0.1		Magor 97.0	370	214.8	+28	
YFBI pr 85	370	214.8	+28	+4.0		Magor 98.0	415	87.0	-40	
YFBI pr 86	415	87.0	-40	-11.5		Magor 99.0	1380	13.8	-78	
YFBI pr 87	1380	13.8	-78	-5.4		Magor 100.0	1480	6.2	-72	
YFBI pr 88	1480	6.2	-72	-5.3		Magor 101.0	1800	4.2	-1	
YFBI pr 89	1800	4.2	-1	-0.1		Magor 102.0	370	214.8	+28	
YFBI pr 90	370	214.8	+28	+4.0		Magor 103.0	415	87.0	-40	
YFBI pr 91	415	87.0	-40	-11.5		Magor 104.0	1380	13.8	-78	
YFBI pr 92	1380	13.8	-78	-5.4		Magor 105.0	1480	6.2	-72	
YFBI pr 93	1480	6.2	-72	-5.3		Magor 106.0	1800	4.2	-1	
YFBI pr 94	1800	4.2	-1	-0.1		Magor 107.0	370	214.8	+28	

Ari Rath
Editor and
Managing Director

THE JERUSALEM
POST

Erwin Frenkel
Editor

Founded in 1932 by GERSHON AGRON, who was Editor until 1955. Editor 1955-1974 TED LURIE. Editor 1974-1975 LEA BEN DOR. EDITORIAL OFFICES AND ADMINISTRATION: The Jerusalem Post Building, Romema, Jerusalem P.O. Box 81 (91000) Telephone 528181 Telex 26121. TEL AVIV 11 Rehov Caribach, P.O. Box 20126 (6101) Telephone 294222. HAIFA 16 Rehov Nordau, Hadar Hacarmel, P.O. Box 4810 (31047) Telephone 645444. Published daily, except Saturday, in Jerusalem, Israel by The Palestine Post Ltd. Printed at The Jerusalem Post in Jerusalem. Registered at the G.P.O. Copyright of all material reserved, reproduction permitted only by arrangement.

Sivan 27, 5742 • Sha'aban 26, 1402

Magnanimity in victory

MILITARILY, THE PLO terrorists are at the end of their tether. Already wiped out in Lebanon's coastal towns and refugee camps, they are now facing the prospect of extinction or utter defeat in Beirut. The resurrection of the PLO as a military force at some later date, on some other Arab soil, such as Syria's, for example, is not a total impossibility. But it would take a very long while.

For the moment, the organization's fate is not in its hands. It is Israel's decision whether the terrorists trapped in the Lebanese capital will be allowed to depart safely, without their arms.

The impact of the PLO's rout on the Arab population in Judea, Samaria and Gaza has been shattering. The local pro-PLO leaders appear to be dumbfounded: for one thing, they are now denied the daily political instruction that used to be beamed from Beirut. Whatever the reaction among the mass of the people, they have not, except here and there, come out into the streets to vent their protest.

Seeking to take advantage of this new opportunity, the civilian administration in Judea and Samaria on Wednesday dissolved the elected local councils of Nablus and Dura. Nablus has been mayorless and under an Israeli army officer since March; in Dura, a village near Hebron, the mayor has now been replaced by a brother of Mustafa Duden, the well-known head of the Hebron village league.

The theory behind this action is that, with the mortal fear of the PLO at long last lifted, moderate Palestinian leaders would be willing, and able, to take over from the extremists who have so far headed the local administrations — and to cooperate with Israel in advancing the cause of autonomy, Israel-style.

Whether the discovery of a member of the Duden clan who is ready to take on a municipal job is proof of the theory, remains to be seen. The Israeli authorities are evidently prepared to wait, in the certainty that time is now on their side. That could be true, if they did not also assume that the mere destruction of the PLO's military might would do the trick.

The authorities might usefully ponder the argument advanced by a moderate Palestinian, Sari Nuseibeh — the son of former Jordanian Defence Minister, Anwar Nuseibeh — in a letter to the editor of *The Jerusalem Post* just a week ago. Explaining the widespread support of the PLO by the local Palestinians, Mr. Nuseibeh claimed that they were united on a "minimum conception" of what the PLO stood for: "national freedom and the construction of a political system 'in Palestine'." In other words, because the PLO could be viewed as embracing this moderate Palestinian platform it merited, despite its other notorious features, the endorsement of moderate Palestinians.

Mr. Nuseibeh is no doubt wrong in assuming that the PLO, dedicated as it is to the extinction of Israel, could be reduced to any such "minimum conception." But the aspiration for a recognized national identity, which he posits as the "real issue," is not likely to die out merely because the PLO has become extinct as a military factor.

The official Israeli response to such Palestinian argument at this time is that a Palestinian national identity already exists, and should merely be given formal expression, on the east bank of the Jordan River. Within the area that the Arabs call Palestine, and the Jews term Eretz Yisrael, there is no room for the expression of any Palestinian identity — except through the medium of an Israel-style autonomy under Israel's rule, not only during a transition period but for all time.

This, needless to say, rules out not only the option of a fully-fledged state — which few Israelis would accept — but also any option of self-determination that falls short of sovereign statehood. For example, reintegration, after a redrawing of boundaries, in a confederal union with Jordan.

Will the old obduracy then remain all that Israel has to offer the Palestinians, or will the government be able to show political wisdom and inventiveness in diplomacy of the kind it has shown on the battlefield? If there is no show of Israel magnanimity to follow in the wake of the PLO's rout, the cause of Palestinian self-determination in its more extreme version is liable to receive a boost rather than a knock, both locally and abroad.

The war in the north has created a unique opportunity to bring about an equitable solution for the Palestinian problem, otherwise the PLO, or a successor organization, might actually snatch political victory from the jaws of utter military defeat.

214 KILLED

(Continued from page one)

Families who have not heard from soldiers for some time and are concerned, Nativ said, may contact a special service that has been initiated to provide information. The following numbers in the Tel Aviv area (03) may be dialled 24 hours a day: 728383, 733331, 733338, and 727277.

Nativ noted this was the first war in which the IDF had not erected temporary cemeteries, but rather transferred the bodies directly for burial near their homes, with all the respect and military honours due them.

An additional IDF convalescence centre has been opened in Haifa to accommodate 280 soldiers who have already been released from hospital, Nativ said.

He said there might have been a great many more casualties had the soldiers not worn flak jackets, fire-resistant coveralls and gloves and special visors. He reported that doctors were particularly enthusiastic about the merits of the coveralls and gloves, which had saved many tank crew members from grave injuries and burns. The protective clothing was one of the lessons learned from the 1973 Yom Kippur War, he said.

Nativ said the IDF held 149 Syrian prisoners of war, of whom 16 were officers and 133 enlisted men. Several of the officers are pilots and the highest-ranking officer is a lieutenant-colonel.

Some 5,000 PLO prisoners have been taken, he said, but not all of them have yet been interrogated. Among the captives are men from

Austria, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Bangladesh, Yemen, Kuwait, Iraq, Pakistan, Niger, Algeria, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, Iran, Somalia and Mali.

There may also be Germans among the men, now being screened, Nativ said.

Syrian and PLO casualty estimates were not available yesterday.

Nativ praised the work of the doctors and medics in the field and said their dedicated and selfless efforts had saved the lives of many men and alleviated the injuries of others. He also lauded the helicopter crews who often landed under heavy fire to extricate the wounded and dead.

He also had a good word for the IDF chaplaincy corps. Three army rabbis had been wounded extricating dead and wounded from the battlefields, he said.

Wounded Syrian POW wants to stay here

HAIFA (Itim). — A wounded Syrian prisoner of war, who claims he deserted his country's army some six months ago, has asked not to be returned to Syria in any prisoner exchanges.

The man, who has a wife and two children near Damascus, says he served two years in the Syrian army, but got tired of it and ran away, hiding in Lebanon. He claims to have been wounded by Syrian bullets. He is being treated at a hospital in the North.

CONFUSION has been the hallmark of Operation Peace for Galilee. In the initial stages it was inspired by a government which wanted to keep the enemy guessing about where the next blow was coming from; today it seems genuine.

Israeli forces are on the outskirts of Beirut, which still contains thousands of armed terrorists, huge quantities of terrorist arms, and almost the entire PLO leadership. Defence Minister Ariel Sharon said on television on Wednesday night that the primary goal of the operation was to destroy the terrorists' infrastructure as comprehensively as possible, his comment coming by way of explanation as to why the IDF had exceeded the 45-kilometre limit originally set by the government.

He went on to explain that while the government had decided on the 45-kilometre limit as the area to be seized, there was no government decision to provide immunity from attack for those terrorists who were beyond that limit.

In the next breath he announced that the IDF had no intention of entering Beirut, or of initiating any more military action beyond the lines reached by the IDF.

There is an inherent contradiction in his statements, just as there was an inherent contradiction in his statements in the early stages of the war when he (and Prime Minister Menachem Begin) stated time and again that Israel had no intention of involving the Syrians in a conflict, but that Israel could not come to terms with the terrorists who had redeployed in areas under Syrian control.

The government's game plan, now that the military campaign is to all intents and purposes over, remains, a mystery.

Sharon said that Israel fully intended to withdraw its forces from every square centimetre of Lebanon, and that he hoped this

would be achieved quickly. On the other hand, Israel would not get involved in the internal politics of Lebanon or play any active role in facilitating the formation of a new government in that country. He had no clear concept (or refrained from presenting one) concerning the political future of that country, but Israel would insist that the Syrians be removed, and that the PLO be neutralized.

IN OTHER WORDS, Israel intends to destroy the PLO totally without entering Beirut; Israel insists on Lebanon undergoing radical political change, but wants no direct hand in facilitating that change, and the minister hopes for an early recall of Israeli forces when he is, in fact, sceptical about the ability of Lebanon to make such a change.

Whereas one was startled by the military efficiency and tactical genius in the first stages of the campaign, one is now deeply troubled about what the war was all about.

Surely the government must have had a clear vision of what it wanted to achieve in Lebanon other than the destruction of the terrorist infrastructure, as Sharon said on television. Otherwise Operation Peace for Galilee becomes just another — albeit considerably larger — Litani Campaign.

Is it possible that the government sent the IDF to Beirut in the west, to the Beirut-Damascus highway in the centre, and north of Lake Karoun in the east to gain no more than a temporary respite from acts of terror over the northern border? And this at the price which Israel has paid.

The only logical explanation to the quandary is that there is something we are not being told and, perhaps, with good reason. On analysis, there are many reasons to

By HIRSH GOODMAN



Ariel Sharon (Rubinger)

expect that a diplomatic solution can be found, but this will take time and discretion.

The PLO has been reduced to a military dwarf, isolated in Beirut and cut off from all sources of supply. The Syrians have had 85 of their front-line aircraft shot down and some 350 tanks, including 10 T-72s, destroyed, despite the tactical advantage they enjoyed. The Syrian forces have been decimated in the east and isolated in the west, and the Syrian headquarters in Shtura has been razed.

The Phalangists in Beirut now have cause for unity. The chance of an independent Lebanon is within their grasp, overshadowing whatever ideological differences may exist, and they can rely on extensive military aid from Israel, provided they back the right cause.

Major Sa'ad Haddad in the south was reportedly greeted with open arms by the protagonists — Druse, Christian and Shi'ites — who

formerly opposed him further to the north. Whether the greeting is genuine or the result of fear is secondary to the fact that it portends cooperation by the former inhabitants of Fatahland in controlling terror.

THUS, ALL the elements are present for President Elias Sarkis to gather around him enough elements of his divided nation to start the process of rebuilding an independent country. Moreover, he could be assured of the support of enough trained and equipped men to guarantee his country's independence, and to ensure that history does not repeat itself.

There is reason to believe that the Americans would fully support this process. For the past five years, Israeli-PLO fighting in Lebanon has been a constant source of concern to the U.S. It threatened to destabilize the region and to hamper America's attempts to forge new strategic alliances in the Arab world.

The Americans were also not overly happy with Moscow's shadow lurking over pro-Western Lebanon, via the Syrian divisions stationed there. America very much wants stability in Lebanon, and realizes that there will never be stability as long as the Syrians and the PLO continue to overshadow that country's sovereignty.

So the elements are there. A new Lebanon is possible, and a new Lebanon must have been the declared goal of the government before it put Operation Peace for Galilee into motion. Why everyone interviewed is trying to avoid the issue is unclear.

Perhaps by declaring it openly they risk being accused of failure if this goal is not attained, whereas if they assiduously insist that the goal had been only the military campaign against the terrorists, it must be regarded as a success.

It won't. The price has been too high, both in terms of lives and the destruction of property. The penetration has been too deep for this to be regarded as merely another Litani Operation.

IT WILL BE a long time before it is known for sure whether Operation Peace for Galilee snowballed or was planned to be carried to its final stages from the outset. What is clear is that the army was prepared to implement the operation in its entirety.

The operation flowed with mechanical precision: Over 30 SAM missiles batteries were destroyed

without the loss of a single Israeli aircraft. The Navy, Air Force and ground forces worked in close harmony, though there were several unfortunate incidents.

Logistical supply was obviously planned beyond the 45-kilometre limit, and both the Air Force and the armoured forces were prepared for a fight with the Syrians both in Lebanon and on the Golan Heights. The intelligence was ready, both on the Syrians and the areas beyond the originally declared battle zone.

There seems no real question in anyone's mind that someone had prepared the army for not only an engagement with the PLO, but also for battle with the Syrians and for the encirclement of Beirut, too.

What remains unclear is whether this was the government's original intention as well, or whether its collective agreement was given piecemeal as the battle unfolded, ultimately to find itself more deeply involved than it had envisaged, with no clear plan for translating the military gain into a political one as well.

THERE HAS NOT been much straight talk during this campaign and there is no doubt that the lack of clarity was necessary during the actual fighting. But we deserve clear answers now. The nation needs a defined goal so that it can unify during the diplomatic process as it did during the war. Reservists on the front lines need to know why they are still in uniform, and for how long they can expect to remain in service. Those who were hurt by this war need to know the reason for their pain.

And all deserve to be told frankly what the objectives are and the dimensions of the problem involved. There have been enough conflicting reports from the battlefield, conflicting signals from cabinet ministers and conflicting statements from individual ministers on television.

The country and the world were awed by the IDF's performance, and indeed the trauma of 1973 has been healed (though a comparison between the two wars is fallacious, given their very different circumstances and scope). There is no questioning the legitimacy of Israel's right to strike at terror, and there is no questioning the effectiveness of the IDF in attaining most of that goal.

But we have reached a point where confusion is becoming counter-productive. A clear statement of goals would certainly help remove the gnawing doubt that Israel perhaps over- or under-extended itself.

The writer is The Jerusalem Post's Defence Correspondent.

READERS' LETTERS

TIME FOR A GENEROUS OFFER

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — I read with interest Professor Yehuda Bauer's article of June 3 and Sari Nuseibeh's favourable comment on it (Letters — June 11). I happen to share the basic attitude of both writers towards Israeli-Palestinian relations and I think the time has now come to take this urgent issue one rational and practical step further.

As a result of the successful operation, Peace for Galilee, nobody in this area or the world could view any Israeli concession to Palestinian national aspirations as a display of weakness. On the other hand, if Israel were to conclude that, by substantially weakening and almost completely defeating the PLO military forces in Lebanon, we have rid ourselves of the Palestinian problem in general, we would be completely wrong and unrealistic.

As a practical result of the Israeli military success in Lebanon, the illusory PLO covenant has by now lost any concrete significance it might ever have had. What is now the decisive item on the political agenda is a realistic and generous offer to the Palestinians to establish their legitimate state in the greater part of the West Bank and in an undivided Jerusalem as a common capital of Israel and the Palestinian state. And that in return for Arab agreement to finally terminate the conflict and accept a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace settlement.

As I am not naive, I do not expect the present Israeli government to make such an offer immediately. But more than ever before, I am convinced that such political neglect now will be regretted by us later as a historical mistake of tragic magnitude.

YEHUDA BEN-MOSHE
Jerusalem.

LACK OF CRITICISM

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — There is a difference between a nation's successful but reluctant engagement in a defensive war and one which celebrates its violent achievements and gloats over its victories.

I have been extremely bothered by the lack of criticism displayed by the editorial staff of *The Jerusalem Post*. Such criticism is essential in a time of war. I have been horrified at the distasteful glorification of victory by some recent front-page photos. I have not been amused by the kinky humour of Dry Bones. Are we to believe that latent elements of racism have found their way into the pages of this respectable newspaper?

One other matter. It is sad indeed that Jan Willem Van der Hoeven (Letters — June 9) has apparently not yet heard anything of the non-retaliatory message of the teacher he claims to follow. Friends of Israel are obliged to offer it constructively, not blind and superficial applause. Inherent in this stance lies Israel's longevity.

PROFESSOR A.M. INNIS
Jerusalem.

HOLIDAY IN ISRAEL

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — When the tension in the north shows signs of lessening, every Israeli and friend of Israel should make a trip up north and enjoy a good holiday in Nahariya and the Northern Galilee. These areas have had to bear the brunt of the political tension, the bombings and shelling.

Cancel your holiday abroad and spend a good holiday in Israel and let the Israeli hoteliers, especially in the north, feel that they have not been forgotten.

M. RIVLIN
Netanya.

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Life is good here, you will find fulfillment, as a Jew and as a human being. At this point in our history, in our war for peace, I call upon you to strengthen us — not in Tyre, Sidon and Beirut — but in Carmiel, Efrat and Jerusalem. Come on aliya. Come home. Raphael Kotlowitz
Chairman, Immigration and Absorption Department